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National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment

July 2001

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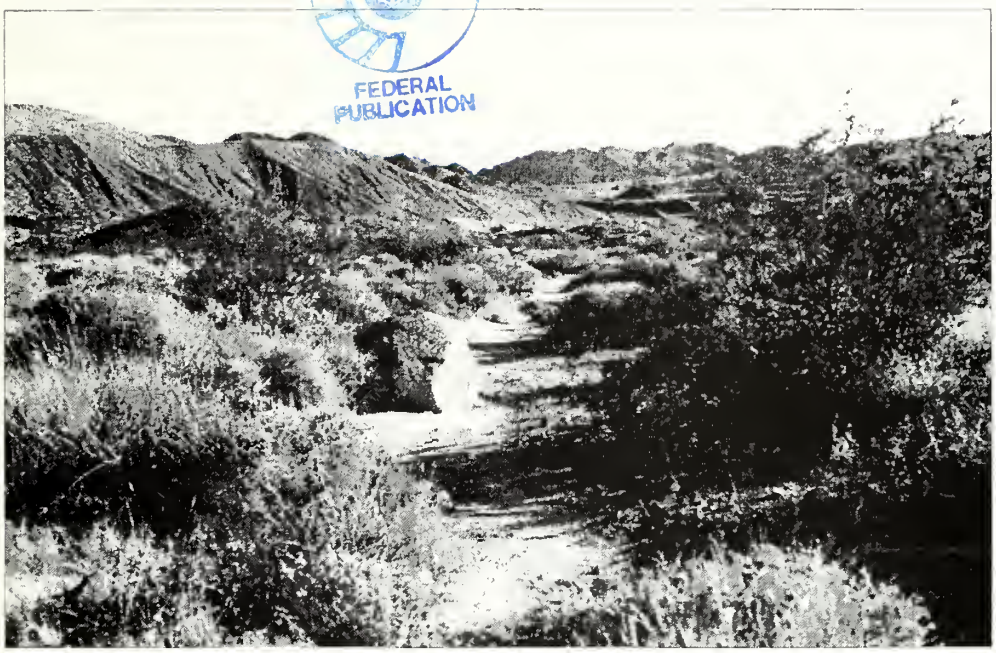

OLD SPANISH TRAIL

New Mexico · Colorado · Utah · Arizona · Nevada · California

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United States Department of the Interior • National Park Service

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The National Park Service thanks the technical team and others who assisted in the preparation and review of this document. In the interest of historical accuracy, these people generously shared their knowledge of the history and resources of the Old Spanish Trail. The participation of these people has improved the document and will serve future generations well.

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the feasibility and desirability of designating the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail under the study provisions of the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543, 16 USC 1241, et seq.).

Pioneered by Mexican trader Antonio Armijo in 1829, the Old Spanish Trail was a horse and burro pack route that connected Santa Fe and Los Angeles. In its early years, trappers, slavers, traders, and immigrants used parts or all of the Old Spanish Trail. Other variants of the trail developed as travelers sought adequate water, grazing, shorter distances, smoother terrain, and safer passage. Over time, multiple, parallel, and intertwined routes developed. Many of these routes followed older trails developed by American Indians, and later followed by Spanish, Mexican, and other Euro-American explorers.

After 1848, use of the eastern end of the trail diminished as the California Trail to the north and southern trails across Arizona became the primary routes to California. In 1847, the Mormons initiated wagon travel from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles. Their wagon road paralleled or overlapped much of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail. This wagon road became known as the Mormon Road, and served as a supply route for Mormon settlements. Many immigrants, Gold Rush prospectors, and others used this route as an alternative to the more northerly routes of the California Trail to California. The study recommends that the Mormon Road be considered either a separate historic route or a component of another trail, such as the California Trail.

The history, background, and significance of the Old Spanish Trail have been researched and analyzed using criteria set forth in the National Trails System Act, with application of National Historic Landmark criteria for national significance. This analysis is found in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B" and the "Other Themes Considered with Respect to National Significance" sections of the document. The analysis determined that the Old Spanish Trail is nationally significant, with respect to the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community and the topic of commerce as identified in the National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework (1996). Trade characterized the most substantive use of the entire trail. It included legal and illegal commercial activities between and among various ethnic groups, and trade in enslaved American Indians. Although the analysis determines a finding of national significance, it also recognizes that a dearth of data exists concerning many aspects of the alignments and use of the Old Spanish Trail. Factors such as the highly arid and forbidding nature of the landscape over which caravans on the trail passed, illegal trade activity, and the opportunities and dangers posed by shifting alliances between trail travelers and the diverse American Indian bands, had a significant impact on trail alignments and use. The analysis concludes by recommending that if the Old Spanish Trail becomes a national historic trail, then a multidisciplinary cultural resource management program that includes historical, archeological, and ethnographic investigations should be a vital component of trail administration. With respect to a number of other historic themes and uses that were evaluated, the Old Spanish Trail is found to be of state or local significance.

This trail study presents three alternatives. Under the first of these alternatives, Alternative A, the "no-action" alternative, there would be no further federal involvement, and the routes would not become components of the National Trails System as a national historic trail.

Alternative B recognizes the interest in and support for the trail from groups, organizations, and public agencies. In lieu of designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail,

Alternative B proposes ways to give the public and Congress additional options for preservation, interpretation, and public use of the trail. Private organizations and the states could implement this alternative. Federal land management agencies could participate using existing authorities, or Congress could prescribe additional federal involvement.

Alternative C proposes the designation of Old Spanish Trail routes in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California as a National Historic Trail under the study provisions of the National Trails System Act. If designated by Congress as a National Historic Trail, the Old Spanish Trail would be managed through cooperative partnerships with public agencies, nonprofit organizations, and landowners. The federal role would be to set and ensure consistent preservation, education, and public use programs. There would be little, if any, federal acquisition of private land. It is recommended that authorities be enacted so that land would be acquired only from willing sellers.

Alternative C proposes three principal routes for designation as part of the National Historic Trail: Armijo's Route, The Northern Route, and the North Branch. Other identified variants of these routes were studied in the preparation of this feasibility study, including the western fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, and the Kingston Cutoff. These three variants are included as part of the overall study area and met most criteria for National Historic Trail designation, but are not recommended for designation at this time, because data is lacking to show that they were used in conducting trade and commerce between New Mexico and California, between 1829-1848. Future investigations may uncover additional information on these variants that shows they were used for trade and commerce during the period of significance. Because these routes have met all other study requirements of the National Trails System Act, this feasibility study suggests that any legislation developed to designate the Old Spanish Trail should also authorize the Secretary to administratively add these trail variants to the National Historic Trail if sufficient documentation is presented to verify their association and use.

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Cover Photo: Traces of the Old Spanish Trail across the Mojave Desert in Spanish Canyon, California.

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the feasibility and eligibility of designating the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail under the feasibility study provisions of the National Trails System Act (NTSA, PL 90-543, 16 USC 1241, et seq.). Specifically, section 402 of Public Law 104-333, the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996, adds the following provision to study section 5(c) of the NTSA (16 USC 1244c) directing the Secretary of Interior to study the Old Spanish Trail:

> The Old Spanish Trail, beginning in Santa Fe, New Mexico, proceeding through Colorado and Utah, and ending in Los Angeles, California, and the Northern Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, beginning near Española, New Mexico, proceeding through Colorado, and ending near Crescent Junction, Utah.

Although not mentioned in the act, during its historic development, at least one route of the Old Spanish Trail also passed through northeastern Arizona.

This feasibility study will be submitted to Congress. Any future federal involvement in the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail must be based on a specific congressional authorization.

NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM AND NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAILS

The National Trails System was established by the National Trails System Act of 1968

> to provide for the ever-increasing outdoor recreation needs of an expanding population and to promote the preservation of, public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the open air, outdoor areas and historic resources of the Nation.

Initially, the National Trails System included National Scenic Trails and National Recreation Trails. National Historic Trails were added when the Act was amended in 1978. National Scenic Trails are extended trails for outdoor recreation, such as the Appalachian or Pacific Crest National Scenic Trails, which also provide "for the conservation and enjoyment of the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural, or cultural qualities of the areas through which such trails may pass." Recreational use along scenic trails is intended to be continuous, allowing uninterrupted travel from end to end. National Recreation Trails are trails that meet prescribed criteria and offer a variety of opportunities for outdoor recreation in or reasonably accessible to urban areas. Such trails can be established and maintained by non-federal entities, with the "national" designation conferred by the Secretary of the Interior, or they may be trails on lands administered by the Secretary of the Interior or Secretary of Agriculture.

National Historic Trails are "extended trails which follow as closely as possible and practicable the original route or routes of travel of national historical significance." The purpose of National Historic Trails is "the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment." The designation of such trails or routes is to be continuous, but established or developed trails are not necessarily continuous land areas; they may include portions or sections of land areas, land and water segments, or other specific sites. Together, these qualifying entities form a chain or network of areas that may be included as components of a National Historic Trail. National Historic Trail authorization would require federal funds for the planning, development, research, and/or

management of the trail and related trail activities. Some existing authorized National Historic Trails are the Santa Fe, Oregon, Pony Express, Mormon Pioneer, and Lewis and Clark trails.

The National Trails System Act provides for a lead federal agency to administer each National Scenic and National Historic Trail in perpetuity, in cooperation with a variety of partners, including other federal agencies, state and local agencies, American Indians, local communities, private landowners, and others.

If Congress authorizes a National Historic Trail, a management plan will have to be prepared to guide the preservation and public use of the trail, as well as education and partnership efforts. Existing trail segments already in federal ownership could become the initial components of the National Historic Trail. Other trail segments could be developed and protected through various means, such as cooperative and certification agreements, easements, and actions by non-profit organizations.

A basic National Historic Trail tool is the certification of historic sites, segments of the trail, and interpretive sites along the route. Historic sites and segments that are not on federal land can be certified only if the owners request such recognition. A certification agreement is developed between the National Park Service and the owner. Only historic sites and trail segments used during the period in which the trail is considered to be nationally significant and that have a direct and significant relationship to the reasons for which the trail is considered nationally significant are eligible for certification. Certification voluntarily commits the owner or manager to preserve trail-related resources and to allow appropriate public access.

National trails are managed through cooperative partnerships among public agencies, non-profit organizations, and landowners. The federal role is one of setting and maintaining standards; providing incentives like technical and limited financial assistance to partners; helping to ensure consistent preservation, education, and public use programs; and managing the use of the official trail logo for marking and other appropriate purposes.

Figure 1: Trail traces in Colorado.

Figure 2: An Overview of Routes Studied

DEFINITION

The Old Spanish Trail was primarily a horse and burro pack route between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, which developed partly from a network of American Indian and Hispanic trade routes. Although primarily a trade thoroughfare, it also was used by explorers, trappers, prospectors, and immigrants. In 1847, Mormons initiated wagon travel along the western half of the trail while traveling between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. The Mormon wagon route replicated or paralleled the Old Spanish Trail for most of the distance between the present-day communities of Paragonah, Utah, and San Bernardino, California. Journals kept by Mormon travelers provide excellent information about the Old Spanish Trail. These route descriptions are included as part of the Old Spanish Trail Complex in this document. However, the study recommends (see "Period of Significance: Trade and Commerce" section) that the Mormon Road be considered either a separate historic route or a component of another trail, such as the California Trail.

Detailed maps of the trail are found in Appendix C.

Two main routes emerged—the Armijo (Southern) Route and the Northern Route. The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail through the San Luis Valley and Gunnison River country of Colorado and eastern Utah was a variant of the Northern Route. Fur trappers were the predominant users of the North Branch.

It is commonly said that the Old Spanish Trail was neither "old" nor "Spanish." The first documented use of the name came from John C. Frémont in the 1840s, and the name was picked up and used by others, principally Anglo-American travelers. Nineteenth-century Mexican traders in New Mexico referred to it as the "*Camino de California*," and *Californios* referred to it as the "*Camino de Santa Fe*" or the "*Camino de Nuevo Mexico*." Sometimes, Anglo-Americans used those designations, but not often. The name "Old Spanish Trail" has come into common use and is now considered the appropriate name for the trail.

DOCUMENTATION

The identification of the Northern and Armijo (Southern) Routes of the Old Spanish Trail and their several variants was based largely on travel diaries and military expedition records. The most specific of these accounts are Domínguez-Escalante (1776); Armijo (1829); Orville Pratt (1848); Gunnison (1853); Addison Pratt (1849); Cheesman (1850); Huntington (1855); Macomb (1859); and Parley P. Pratt (1851).

More recently, historians and archeologists have studied the various routes followed by trappers, traders, immigrants, and military expeditions (for example, see Hafen and Hafen (1982), Crampton and Madsen (1994), Sánchez (1997), Warren (1974), and Walker (1986)).

In addition to published sources, the Spanish Colonial Research Center did an inventory of guides, catalogues, card catalogues, indexes, files, computerized indexes, and data bases in Mexico City. The primary research effort concentrated on the Archivo Histórico Diplomático, Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, and the Archivo General de la Nación. The work in these sources involved going through collections and sections that comprise several thousand volumes of bound documents and loosely

collected manuscripts. This work concentrated on the period from 1821-1848. A number of documents were selected from these archives, and a detailed examination of their contents continues to the present.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

American Indian groups have lived for thousands of years throughout what is now the American Southwest. These groups developed an extensive network of routes for travel and trade. As with other western trails, it is likely that segments of the Old Spanish Trail follow some earlier trails and trade routes. Trade and travel along the route, or portions of it, included use by Ute, Paiute, Comanche, and Navajo peoples.

In 1769, Spain established settlements in southern California to prevent ongoing Russian and English encroachments. Supplying these settlements by sea was difficult because of unfavorable winds and ocean currents. The first land route to southern California was extended from La Paz in Baja, California, to San Diego in 1769. In 1775 and 1776, Juan Bautista de Anza led settlers north into California from Sonora, Mexico.

Spain also was interested in establishing a viable overland link between her northern holdings in California and New Mexico. Parts of what would become the Old Spanish Trail were explored from the west when Father Francisco Hermengildo Garcés set out from the Yuma villages along the Gila River in southern Arizona to explore a path to the California missions beginning in 1774. To get there, Garcés traveled north to the friendly Mojave villages along the Colorado River. There, he was offered four guides, who led him along indigenous trails to the Mojave River. Garcés followed the Mojave for several days, reaching Misión San Gabriel via the San Bernardino-San Gabriel Ranges. Some of the indigenous routes that Garcés traveled through the Mojave Desert later became part of the western portion of the Old Spanish Trail.

Spanish colonial interest in trade with the Utes began in the seventeenth century. Fearing renewed hostilities caused by unfair trade practices, eighteenth-century Spanish officials prohibited trade with the Utes. Flaunting the law, traders from New Mexico followed pathways to the land of the Utes. Each illegal expedition invariably furnished knowledge of Ute country. As Spanish frontiersmen ventured beyond western Colorado, they learned different ways to get to the Great Basin. Later, the more experienced served as guides on official expeditions to western Colorado and Utah.

Three officially sanctioned expeditions from New Mexico into Ute country, composed partially of men who had previously traded illegally with the Utes, reflected renewed Spanish interest in Ute country. In 1765, Juan María Antonio Rivera led two parties to explore southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah. Eleven years later, in 1776, a third official expedition left Santa Fe following Rivera's route to the Uncompahgre Plateau and beyond to the Great Basin in western Utah. This expedition, led by two Franciscan priests, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, was intended to establish a route between Santa Fe and Monterey in California. Although their expedition failed in its objective to reach the coast of the Pacific Ocean, they succeeded in providing more information about the interior land and its people.

In the mid-1820s, Hispanic New Mexicans and Anglo-Americans expanded their trade in Ute country. Anglo-American fur trappers, in particular, were interested in meeting European demand for beaver hats with new sources of fur in the Rocky Mountains. While trapping for beaver, these men explored the region. In 1825-1826 Antoine Robidoux built Fort Uncompahgre (Fort Robidoux) near present-day Delta, Colorado. This fort was a centralized trading area where various Indian groups brought furs to

trade; these furs were then transported to Santa Fe or Bent's Old Fort over routes that later became part of the Old Spanish Trail. Robidoux later built another fur-trade post, Fort Uintah, in northeastern Utah. Occasionally, the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail was used to supply these trading posts.

In late summer of 1826 Jedediah S. Smith led a small party of trappers westward from the rendezvous at Cache Valley, Utah, utilizing portions of what would become the Old Spanish Trail as he headed southwest toward California. After wintering among the *californios*, Smith and some of his party made their way to the 1827 rendezvous at Bear Lake near the Utah-Idaho boundary. Leaving that rendezvous in July, Smith again headed for California, generally retracing his steps of a year before, but this time several of his men died in a bloody clash with Mojave Indians when they attempted to cross the Colorado River at a Mojave village.

Beginning in the 1820s, several groups of fur trappers made their way from New Mexico to California via various routes through Arizona. Collectively, these routes are sometimes called the Gila Route because most travelers trapped along the Gila River en route. In 1827, Richard Campbell led 35 men to San Diego. While it is sometimes assumed that he went south along the Gila, he later remembered taking a more northerly route using the Crossing of the Fathers and then going north of the Grand Canyon. In 1827, Sylvester Pattie led a group along the Gila to *Baja California*, where they were imprisoned by Mexican officials and taken to San Diego. Two members of this party, Isaac Slover and William Pope, escaped and returned to New Mexico. They later followed the Old Spanish Trail to live in California. Ewing Young led a group that included Kit Carson—via Zuni and the Salt River and then trapped along the Virgin River in Utah before heading to California in 1830. Some members of these groups, as well as members of other groups traveling via southern routes, stayed in California.

In 1829, Mexican trader Antonio Armijo departed from Abiquiú in command of a commercial caravan of 60 men. Armijo successfully established a route to Los Angeles, where he traded serapes and other New Mexican goods for horses and mules. Following known American Indian and Spanish paths, Armijo traveled west through Navajo and Paiute territory, and forded the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers—an indigenous crossing used by Domínguez and Escalante in 1776. Thence, Armijo generally followed the present state boundary between Arizona and Utah until he reached the Virgin River. From the Virgin River, based on the advice from his guide, he passed south of present-day Las Vegas on his way to the Amargosa River.

William Wolfskill and George C. Yount first established the Northern Route of the Old Spanish Trail as they passed through central Utah in 1831. With a party of approximately 20 men, Wolfskill and Yount departed Abiquiú in the winter of 1830, and went to California by a route that Wolfskill would later describe as being "farther north than that adopted by the Spaniards in traveling between California and New Mexico." The Wolfskill-Yount route headed northwest to a crossing of the Colorado River, then west and southwest through Utah. They returned to the Colorado River and followed it to the Mojave villages, where they rested and fed their animals and traded with the Mojave. The party then proceeded west to Los Angeles.

A major variation of the Old Spanish Trail was established by traders and trappers using American Indian and Spanish colonial routes from Santa Fe and Taos into the San Luis Valley of Colorado, and then west to Cochetopa Pass and the Gunnison River Valley. It provided a corridor into eastern Utah. The route through the San Luis Valley included the main road from Taos and also a western fork that came into greater use after 1848. These trails collectively formed a route that became known as the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. In his 1870 book about life in the West, John C. Van Tramp cites a letter he received from trapper, Antoine Leroux. Leroux identifies the North Branch as an alternate route to California from Taos. Its greatest attraction to the trail travelers was the Cochetopa

Pass. Leroux reported that "There is not much snow in this pass, (the Coochetope,) and people go through it all the winter. And when there is much snow on the mountains on the Abiquiu route, (which is the old Spanish trail from Santa Fe to California,) the people of Taos go round this way, and get into that trail in the forks of the Grand and Green rivers."

As use of Old Spanish Trail segments continued, travelers established numerous other variations to take advantage of better water sources and to shorten the length and time of travel. By 1848, travelers had developed several variations of the route to the Sevier River in order to avoid the Sawtooth Narrows of Salina Canyon. Another variation, developed later still, was the Kingston Cutoff, which led travelers southwest from Mountain Springs, Nevada, to Silurian Lake, California.

As the trail network evolved, partly from indigenous footpaths and partly from newly blazed routes, into a horse and mule trail, and later into a wagon road, several variants were opened through Cajon Pass, north of San Bernardino. Some traffic went over Cajon Pass following what is now California State Highway 152 up to the summit, and descended into the San Bernardino Valley through the area now occupied by the California State University campus. However, the route chosen probably depended on several factors, including party composition, the amount and type of load carried, whether weather was wet or dry, the time of year, and the presence of government inspectors.

The major reason for travel on the Old Spanish Trail was trade between New Mexico and California, primarily by New Mexican trade caravans, which traveled between Santa Fe and Los Angeles between 1829 and 1848. Caravans usually left on the three-month journey in the fall, primarily carrying woolen goods produced in New Mexico. They returned the following year, having traded their goods for horses and mules.

The size of caravans seems to vary from year to year. Some of the documented trading parties include: Antonio Santiesteban and 30 men in 1831; José Avieta and 124 men in 1833-1834; José Antonio Salazar and 75 men in 1839-1840; Francisco Estevan Vigil and 35 men and others (possibly about 134 people) in 1841; Tomás Salazar and 170 men in 1843; and Francisco Estevan Vigil and 209-225 men in 1847. Little or no information seems to be available as to the size of the caravans in 1838, 1840, and 1845. There are no annual trade caravans identified for 1834-1835, 1835-1836, or 1846. There were other travelers, such as Santiago Martín, who went to California with 15 men in 1832 for personal reasons rather than trade.

Overall, the available information on the size of caravans, and to a greater extent the quantity of merchandise carried to California tends to be vague. The 1841 Vigil group was reported by a Frenchman, Duflot du Mofras, as consisting of 200 New Mexicans and 60 or more North Americans. Duflot suggested that the annual caravans routinely consisted of 200 men, and they returned to New Mexico with about 2,000 horses. However, the known information as to caravan size (see preceding paragraph) suggests that the size of the caravans and the numbers of livestock (see below) brought back varied from year to year. In some years, the documented number of livestock was more than twice du Mofras' estimate and in others only a fraction of that amount.

There was considerable legal trade in horses and mules between California and New Mexico. However, data can only be found for some of the years in which trade caravans operated. The numbers vary from year to year. Some of the known groups include Armijo, with 100 animals in 1830; José Antonio Salazar, with an estimated 2,500 animals in 1839; Francisco Estevan Vigil, with 4,141 animals in 1842; John Rowland, with 300 animals in 1842; a group, with 252 animals in 1843; a Frenchman called Le Tard with 231 animals in 1848; and Francisco Estevan Vigil, again, with 4,628 animals in 1848.

Horse and mule theft was common, both by regular traders and adventurers. Americans claiming to be beaver trappers, fugitive Indians from the missions, Indians from the frontiers, and New Mexicans were teaming together to gather horses and mules for the drive to New Mexico. This illegal trade was of great concern in California and resulted in laws to restrict access by New Mexican traders.

In addition to general reports of livestock theft, there are numbers reported for some incidents. The following are some reports of animals stolen and taken to New Mexico: In 1833, Jesus Uzeta and others stole 430; in 1837, Jean Baptiste Chalifoux and his men stole 1,400-1,500 mules and horses; in 1842, John Rowland took 300 stolen animals; In 1844, Jim Beckwourth, according to his claim, took 1,800 horses from California to Bent's Old Fort in 1844; and in 1846, Joseph Walker took 400-500 horses and mules from California, presumably following the Old Spanish Trail into Utah and then north to Fort Bridger and across the immigrant route and south to Bent's Fort. In 1848, Miles Goodyear left California with 231 legally obtained animals, but reportedly drove an estimated 4,000 animals to Utah and east to Missouri, where he found declining prices due to increased supply and a decrease in emigration. He returned with the horses to California via the Humboldt River route, where he sold them at a handsome profit due to increased demand as a result of the Gold Rush of 1849.

Mountain men such as Beckwourth, Pegleg Smith, and others, and New Mexican traders encouraged Yokuts and other Indians of the California interior to steal horses from the ranchos for resale in New Mexico. The Yokuts, who had already begun stealing horses for food, now stole them for trade. In California the wide-ranging Utes, the Yokuts of the Central Valley, and other Indians struck the ranchos.

Some of the vast fur trade in the West used the Old Spanish Trail. American travelers along the Old Spanish Trail, Gila (Arizona) routes, and other land routes to California were involved in the fur trade. Many travelers were trapping for furs as they went. William Wolfskill and others who stayed in California gave up beaver trapping to hunt sea otters, at least for a while, before becoming landowners. Furs could also be traded for horses and mules. Antoine Robidoux built two fur trade forts, Fort Uinta and Fort Uncompaghre, and used the North Branch as a route to supply the forts. The fur trade activity along the Old Spanish Trail was part of a massive whole extending across the western half of the continent.

Sheep and wool trade was a major economic industry in New Mexico. New Mexico weavers provided the woolen goods that were carried over the Old Spanish Trail to California. Wool was also shipped east on the Santa Fe Trail. Many thousands of sheep were traded south along the Camino Real to Chihuahua and Durango during the peak years of 1821-1846. The trade languished during the Mexican-American War, but with the discovery of gold in California and its accompanying population boom, a new market was opened. In 1849, a gold-seeker named Roberts bought 500 sheep in New Mexico for $250, and took them to California through southern Arizona, where he sold them for $8,000. By 1850, rumors of the new market were common in Santa Fe. William Angney bought 6,000 sheep in 1850 and took them to California via the Old Spanish Trail. In 1852, Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton took 9,000 sheep along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, on to Salt Lake City, and then west to Sacramento along a California Trail route.

Old Spanish Trail traders also became involved in the ongoing trade in American Indian slaves. Stronger tribes would raid weaker tribes and take captives for sale to the Spanish, and later Mexicans. The Southern Paiutes were the principal victims of the slave trade, which, early in the nineteenth century, is presumed to have used the eastern segments of the later Old Spanish Trail in New Mexico and Utah. Southern Paiutes may have been slaves in Santa Fe and surrounding communities as early as the late 1700s, and the practice continued as late as the 1860s in some parts of Colorado and Utah.

This trade was illegal, hence written accounts were seldom kept and official records are largely lacking. There is limited documentation of the extent of the involvement of Old Spanish Trail trade caravans with the slave trade. The main market for slaves was New Mexico, and a number of travelers into the Utah country reported on Mexicans engaged in slave trading. Some Indian slaves were taken to California to be sold.

Hispanic New Mexican families, Anglo-Americans from the U.S., and others immigrated to California on the Old Spanish Trail.

Some New Mexicans accompanied American immigrants, such as the Rowland-Workman party. Others accompanied Mexican trade caravans; and some traveled on their own. Historical references may sometimes only refer to the number of families and not to the number of individuals.

In 1837, José María Chávez and his brother Julian Chávez, with family members and several others, escaped New Mexico by way of Utah to California. They had been singled out for execution for siding with Governor Albino Pérez, who was slain in the New Mexico Rebellion of 1837. In California, they joined the rebellion and were captured by government forces under General José Castro. They were later released. José María returned to New Mexico but Julian remained, settling in Chávez Ravine in Los Angeles. In 1838, Lorenzo Trujillo and six other New Mexicans left New Mexico for California. En route, Manuelita Renaga gave birth at Resting Springs on the Old Spanish Trail. These eight individuals became the first settlers in the San Bernardino area. In 1839, 75 New Mexicans arrived in California and settled near Rancho de San José. Several groups arrived in 1842, including a party of 40 from Abiquiú, New Mexico, who settled at Agua Mansa and Politana, and a group of 19 families who eventually settled in San Luis Obispo. In 1843, 10 families accompanied the regular caravan; another 10 families possibly accompanied a group under John Rowland; and five families arrived at Agua Mansa in 1844.

Beginning with the Wolfskill-Yount party in 1830, a number of Americans following the Old Spanish Trail also stayed in California. Approximately 28 Americans (about 21 adult males and eight family members) are known to have immigrated along the Old Spanish Trail between 1830 and 1838. William Pope and Isaac Slover, who led a group in 1837, had previously been to California via the Gila Route. In 1841, the Rowland-Workman party immigrated on the trail. Most of the 26 men in this group were Americans, while several were native New Mexicans. Two of the New Mexicans brought their families. Nine members of the Rowland party did not stay in California. In 1844, Louis Robidoux and Jean Jeantet immigrated to California after traveling with a Mexican trade caravan, possibly along the Old Spanish Trail.

Americans and other foreigners who immigrated to California engaged in a variety of businesses. Although 1828 regulations opened California to settlement by foreigners, there was little land available, and Mexican officials were not supportive of grants to foreigners. With the secularization of the missions in 1834, lands that had been previously closed to settlement became available. In the 1840s, Mexican officials opened large amounts of land to private development, and foreigners were permitted to purchase land in California. Many became owners of large holdings. About one-third of the land in California went to Anglo-Americans. The secularization of the missions also meant that thousands of Indians from those missions were now available as a source of cheap labor. And an outside market existed for products of California ranches, primarily hides and tallow. These factors set off a land rush among Mexicans and foreigners.

Additionally, people were drawn to California as a result of numerous boosters who had written about the area, beginning as early as 1808 with the journal of a sea-otter trader, Captain William Shaler; Hall Jackson Kelley's 1839 report to Congress; Richard H. *Dana's Two Years before the Mast,*" and others. Tales heard from fur trappers and the published words of hide and tallow traders and travelers who wrote of California helped fuel the American appetite for expansion. Others, such as John Marsh and John Sutter, were also active in luring overland travelers to California.

Some of those who immigrated to California on the Old Spanish Trail became involved in the American underground that worked to hasten the takeover of California. This takeover was generally a goal of the various boosters. John Rowland and William Workman had been involved in the Republic of Texas' failed 1841 invasion of New Mexico. They became active in annexationist intrigues, joining with many, such as Abel Stearns, who were already in California. Both, along with other members of their immigrant party, were involved in the military uprising in 1845 against Governor Micheltorena, as well as later uprisings.

Soon after settling in the Salt Lake area, the Mormons under Brigham Young began expanding southward with the intent of establishing an outlet to the sea. A series of settlements were established in the late 1840s and early 1850s along the "Mormon Corridor," including Parowan and Cedar City, which were near beds of iron and coal. In 1852, Young sent a company of 300 settlers, who followed the western part of the Old Spanish Trail to southern California, where they established a city called San Bernardino. In 1855, the Mormons built a fort at the site of present-day Las Vegas, Nevada, and another group followed part of the Old Spanish Trail to settle Moab, Utah. In 1857, fearing an invasion of Utah by the U.S. Army, the colonists from San Bernardino and other outposts left their settlements and returned to help defend against the potential invaders.

Over the years, a number of military groups and expeditions followed portions or all of the Old Spanish Trail.

At the forefront of exploration of the West was the U.S. Army Corps of Topographic Engineers—and the most famous member of that group was John C. Frémont. Like most of his colleagues, Frémont was a firm believer in manifest destiny. Already renowned for his earlier explorations, Frémont led a wide-ranging expedition across the West in 1843-1844. His primary objective was to travel from Missouri to Oregon. When he reached Fort Vancouver, his official duty was done, but he chose to head south into California, exploring along the way. In southern California the expedition picked up the Old Spanish Trail. It left the trail in southwest Utah, continued north to Utah Lake, went east along the Uinta Mountains and into Colorado, south to Pueblo, and then east back to St. Louis. In his writings, Frémont referred to the trail as the "Spanish Trail," a designation that was picked up by others, thus leading to the popular name for the trail. Frémont published maps and detailed descriptions of the Amargosa River Variant of the Old Spanish Trail.

Kit Carson carried military dispatches on several trips, some of them along the Old Spanish Trail. In late 1847, he carried dispatches west along the Old Spanish Trail. In 1848, Carson again traveled with dispatches east from Los Angeles along the Old Spanish Trail to Santa Fe and on to Washington, D.C. George Brewerton, who accompanied Carson, kept an account of the trip, which contains some of the most detailed stories of travel along the trail.

With the American takeover of California, there was a strong interest in completing a railroad connection to the Pacific, and competition between proponents of different routes to make that connection. A number of expeditions followed various northern, southern, and central routes. In 1853,

Congress authorized a government survey of all the principal routes under the direction of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, who was to submit his report in January 1854.

Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale led a group along the North Branch and then down the main Old Spanish Trail to California in 1853. Beale had been appointed as Indian Commissioner to California. Senator Thomas Hart Benton secured Beale's appointment and the funding for his trip. Gwinn Harris Heap, Beale's cousin and a newspaperman, wrote a widely distributed account of the trip, which was very favorable to the route through Cochetopa Pass.

In 1853, Captain John Williams Gunnison led an expedition to explore a possible 38th parallel railroad route across Cochetopa Pass. After entering the San Luis Valley in Colorado, the group followed the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail into western Colorado. In Utah, the group followed parts of the Old Spanish Trail. On October 26, after leaving the Old Spanish Trail, a group from the expedition was attacked, reportedly by Paiute Indians; Gunnison and others were killed, leaving only four survivors. The main party reached the scene two days later, and First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith led them to Salt Lake City.

Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, who was a strong proponent of the 38th parallel route for the railroad, secured private funding and sent a survey party led by John C. Frémont behind Gunnison. They followed Gunnison's tracks on the North Branch and continued into Utah, following parts of the Old Spanish Trail. Entering the Rocky Mountains in December 1853, the group encountered difficulties, forcing them to first walk while the animals carried their supplies, and then to cache all but their most important baggage in order to ride. Eventually, as the animals gave out, they were eaten and their riders had to walk. The travelers suffered severe hardships and one man died. Solomon Carvalho, who wrote the account of the trip, lost 44 pounds. The party finally reached Parowan, Utah. Frémont had also led a previous expedition in 1848 for Benton exploring a 38th parallel route for the railroad in Colorado, which was not on the Old Spanish Trail, and which ended in the deaths of many of the party when the group encountered severe weather and heavy snow.

From November 1857 to January 1858, Captain Randolph B. Marcy's party of 40 soldiers and 25 mountain men traveled a portion of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail en route from Fort Bridger to New Mexico to procure supplies for Army troops under General Albert Sidney Johnson, who was poised to suppress a possible insurrection in Salt Lake City. Marcy's group suffered from severe winter weather and lack of food. After reaching Fort Union, they obtained supplies and returned via a longer, safer route.

In the summer of 1858, Colonel William W. Loring and 300 men with 50 wagons used part of the Old Spanish Trail and the North Branch to return from Camp Floyd in Utah to Fort Union.

Captain John N. Macomb led an exploration into southeastern Utah in 1859. The expedition was looking for a military road and seeking the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers. They followed a section of the Old Spanish Trail and then deviated from that route, rejoining it farther along. The expedition entered Utah near present-day Monticello and set up a base camp. They returned to Santa Fe across the San Juan Basin. A major accomplishment of the expedition was the scientific observations of geologist John S. Newberry.

In 1860, several civilians were killed, and the Paiute Indians were blamed for the deaths, although the identity of the killers and their tribes was actually unknown. Brevet Major James H. Carleton was put in command of a military unit sent forth to punish the Paiute. The troops reached the Mojave River on April 19, and scouted for Indians in the area and along parts of the Old Spanish Trail until July 3. Two

groups of Indians were found and five individuals were killed. The troops found evidence of the Timbisha Shoshone tribe but did not encounter them.

Overall, use of much of the Old Spanish Trail, especially the eastern half, diminished after 1848, as travelers began using other trails such as the California Trail and routes through Arizona. While later wagon roads, and eventually highways, often replicated segments of the Old Spanish Trail, other sections received limited, often local use after about 1850. The establishment of the Intercontinental Railroad in 1869 and other rail routes also resulted in the gradual displacement of many old trails as immigration and commercial routes.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROUTES

Introduction

Travelers' accounts helped identify major and variant routes (see Appendix C: Maps) of the Old Spanish Trail by describing geographical features, cultural sites, and peoples along the trail. While many of these travelers were using the entire trail or parts of the trail after the possible period of significance identified in this document, there is evidence that they were on the same trail used during the period of significance. Based on differing translations of Mexican and Spanish documents and their knowledge of landmarks, geography and geology, and Indian tribes, researchers have mapped Old Spanish Trail routes between New Mexico and California (see "Documentation" section). It is clear from travelers' accounts that the route(s) were dictated by several factors, including: water sources, forage, ease of travel (terrain and climate), presence of friendly tribes (often for trading purposes), and absence of hostile groups (for safety of the caravans). For the purposes of this study, the following descriptions generally follow the trail routes defined by Crampton and Madsen (1994), Sánchez (1997), Walker (1986), Warren (1974), Steiner (1999), and Kessler (1995). References to the maps in Appendix C are provided in the following descriptions.

Over time, travelers sought easier, shorter routes, and numerous variant trails developed along the Old Spanish Trail Northern Route corridor. Parts of the Northern Route were originally used by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, and later traveled by Wolfskill - Yount (1830-31); Orville Pratt (1848); Gunnison (1853); Huntington (1855); Cheesman (1850); and Macomb (1859) (maps 1 and 3).

Travelers who used the North Branch Routes through Colorado's San Luis Valley include: Gunnison and Schiel (1853); Heap and Beale (1853); Ruxton (1847); Pope, Slover, and John Wolfskill (1837); and Frémont (1853-1854) (maps 1 and 2). Gunnison, Frémont, and Heap and Beale are also known to have traversed the Gunnison River country on the North Branch (maps 2 and 4).

Travelers who went through Abiquiú before continuing northwest into what is now Colorado include Orville Pratt (1848) and Macomb (1859) (maps 1-3). Their trails overlapped or paralleled parts of the earlier Domínguez-Escalante route. From the Green River in Utah, Loring (1858), Huntington (1855), and Gunnison (1853) traveled through the Sevier River Valley (map 6).

An additional variant, the Fishlake Cutoff, was a shortcut between Ivie Creek and Junction, Utah. Brewerton and Carson popularized this route in 1847-1848, but it was not regularly used until after 1848. Carvalho (1854) intersected the Fishlake Cutoff after leaving the Northern Route east of the Green River (map 6). Jefferson Hunt (1849) and Parley Pratt (1851) joined the routes taken by Frémont (1844) and later by Wheeler (1866), on the recombined Northern Route as it ran southward from Utah

into present-day Arizona (maps 5 and 6). Apparently, almost all the travelers used the California Crossing of the Muddy River just inside the Nevada border (map 8). From there, the Armijo Route ran due south, then turned west to intersect or parallel variants of the Northern Route(s) used by Wheeler (1873), A. Pratt (1849), Chandless (1856), and Dalton (1857) (map 8). All the routes converged in the Yermo/Daggett area, just outside Barstow, and continued along the Mojave River and over Cajon Pass into the San Bernardino/Los Angeles area (map 9).

New Mexico

Between Santa Fe and Abiquiú, the Northern Route and Southern Route either overlapped or paralleled each other (map 1). From Abiquiú, the Armijo Route paralleled present-day New Mexico State Highways 96, 595, 173, and 574 northwest to the vicinity of Aztec Ruins National Monument, and entered Colorado just inside the eastern edge of the Ute Mountain Indian Reservation (map 2). The trail re-entered New Mexico briefly just west of U.S. Highway 666, and then continued west into Arizona at the Four Corners area. Originating in Santa Fe, several variants of this main route ran along the Río Grande valley. Near Española and San Juan Pueblo, respectively, two variations of the North Branch broke away from the main trail to run northeast. Several cross trails connected these two variants, which converged just south of Taos. The North Branch continued north along the east side of Colorado's San Luis Valley.

A West Fork of the North Branch, which carried an unknown amount of traffic before 1848, ran almost north along Black Mesa through the Carson National Forest and Tres Piedras, to reach the west side of the San Luis Valley (map 1).

The Northern Route continued northwest from Abiquiú parallel with present-day U.S. Highway 84 for several miles before turning northwest to Dulce, New Mexico, and entered Colorado near the town of Caracas.

Colorado

The Armijo Route entered Colorado near the Montezuma County/La Plata County line through a series of arroyos (map 3). Once up out of the arroyos, the route ran westward across a level plateau area paralleling Grass Canyon. At the confluence of Ute, Grass, and Mancos canyons, where there are a number of springs, the route dropped down into the Mancos River drainage, following it west and southwest. Near the east end of Mancos Canyon and a few miles beyond the Mancos River Trading Post (on the Ute Mountain Indian Reservation), the route veered south to re-enter what is now the State of New Mexico (map 3).

The Northern Route entered Colorado along stream drainages, followed Carracas Canyon, crossed the San Juan River, and turned northwest towards Durango (map 2). The route followed the Mancos and Dolores river drainages northwest past the present-day communities of Mancos, Dolores, Cahone, and Northdale, before exiting the state along the route of U.S. Highway 666.

From New Mexico, the West Fork of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail entered Colorado's San Luis Valley along the Río San Antonio (map 2). The main North Branch route traveled along the west edge of the Sangre de Cristo Range east of the Río Grande (map 1). The North Branch converged with its western fork near the town of Saguache, continued northwest over North Cochetopa Pass, and followed Tomichi Creek into the Gunnison River drainage. The route followed the Gunnison River Basin west to present-day Montrose. From Montrose, the North Branch generally followed the Uncompaghre River,

fording the river near Delta. Then the trail followed what is now U.S. Highway 50 northwest through Grand Junction to the Utah border.

Utah

The Armijo Route entered Utah in an area that is now part of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and crossed the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers (map 5). Following drainages west for some distance, travelers re-entered Arizona along Kanab Creek. The route briefly reentered the southwestern corner of the state, then followed the Virgin River southwest into Arizona.

Entering what is now Utah, the Northern Route proceeded northwest to the vicinity of Spanish Valley and Moab, where it crossed the Colorado River. The North Branch entered Utah through Grand Valley, and rejoined the main trail at Green River. Fording the Green River at the town of the same name, the Northern Route traversed the San Rafael Swell and entered Castle Valley. The route then ascended Wasatch Pass. Directly on the west side of the pass, a later variant known as the Fishlake Cutoff split off south to rejoin the main branch near Circleville, Utah (map 6).

The Northern Route turned slightly south in order to avoid the Sawtooth Narrows of Salina Canyon and went on the Sevier River. It then followed the Sevier south and southwest to Bear Valley Junction and turned west across the northern end of the Markagunt Plateau into Parowan Valley (map 6). The route passed north of the Antelope Range and turned south to cross Arizona in Beaver Dam Wash (map 5).

Arizona

The Armijo Route entered present-day Arizona in the Four Corners area, skirted the north side of the Carrizo Mountains, and headed west across Chinle Wash and up Laguna Creek to Marsh Pass (maps 3 and 5). From there, it turned northwest through Navajo National Monument, crossing the state line into Utah before fording the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers, above present-day Glen Canyon Dam. It reentered Arizona near Fredonia, skirted south of the Shinarump and Vermilion Cliffs, and turned back into Utah near Colorado City. It then passed through the northwestern corner of Arizona, following the Virgin River (map 5).

The Mormon Road and the Northern Route and Armijo Route converged in the far northwest corner of Arizona near present-day Littlefield, and followed the Virgin River southwest into Nevada (map 5).

Nevada

The combined Northern Route and Armijo Route followed the Virgin River a short distance into Nevada before dividing (maps 5 and 8). The Armijo Route followed the Virgin River to the Colorado River, and then turned west to skirt south of Las Vegas (map 8). The trail ran through the Ivanpah Valley. Near Goodsprings, it crossed the Spring Mountains and entered present-day California (map 8).

The combined Northern Route and Mormon route followed the Virgin River and Dry Lake valleys southwest to Las Vegas (Big Springs) and Blue Diamond (Cottonwood) Spring (see Figure 3), crossing the Spring Mountains at Mountain Springs. The trail entered California by way of the Pahrump Valley (map 8).

A later variant, the Kingston Cutoff, left the Northern Route west of the Spring Mountains, and continued south into California (map 8).

From Las Vegas, the Mojave Road variant turned south along modern U.S. Highway 95 to the area of Needles, California, where it joined an ancient trail to Los Angeles (map 8, and description of the Mojave Road, below).

California

The Armijo Route merged with the Northern Route in the Pahrump Valley, and diverged again at Silurian Lake. Going due south from the dry lake, the Armijo Route encountered the Mojave River and followed it south and west to the Yermo/Daggett area (maps 8 and 9).

In the Piute Valley, northwest of Needles, California, the Mojave Road intersected indigenous routes from the Mojave Indian villages on the Colorado River. From here, a short detour southeast could take the traveler to the Colorado River for ample water and pasture, as well as trade opportunities. From the Piute Valley, the Mojave Road turned west across the desert, following an ancient trail by way of several springs, including Piute, Rock, and Marl. The route then went southwest through the Kelso Mountains via Jackass Canyon, and met the Armijo Route near Soda Lake. This combined trail followed existing Indian trails south and west along the Mojave River from its sink, through Afton Canyon and past Camp and Cady springs, to rejoin the other routes at Yermo-Daggett (maps 8 and 9).

Originally, the Mojave River route was a natural travel corridor through the desert. The river disappears below the surface of its sand channel and flows underground for a great deal of its length, periodically forming large pools of water or scantily running streams that were vital to travelers (Walker 1985:ix).

Just inside the California/Nevada state line, travelers took either the main Kingston Cutoff, which was introduced after 1848, south and west through Kingston Wash, or went due west over Tecopa Pass in the Kingston Range. The Kingston Cutoff intersected the Northern Route south of Salt Spring, near Silurian Lake (maps 8 and 9).

The Northern Route ran west-southwest across the Pahrump ("big spring") and California valleys and over the short, steep incline at Immigrant Pass to Resting Spring. Then the route turned south at present-day Tecopa on the Amargosa River, and went through Amargosa Canyon and around the West Side of the Dumont Sand Dunes (maps 8 and 9).

The trail followed what is today California State Highway 127 south through the Silurian Valley. North of Silver Lake, the Northern Route went due southwest past Red Pass Lake (Mud Lake), over Red Pass, and down to Bitter Spring within present-day Fort Irwin. The main trail continued southwest through Spanish Canyon (cover photo). An alternate route ran south around the east side of Alvord Mountain and rejoined the main trail near Manix Lake. Near present-day Yermo/Daggett at an area known as "Fork of Roads," the Mojave Road, the Northern Route, the Armijo Route, the Mohave Route, and the Mormon Road all converged to follow the Mojave River southwest toward Cajon Pass (maps 8 and 9).

Near Oro Grande, the main route crossed the river at the "Upper Crossing," or "Lane's Crossing," and ran southwest toward Cajon Summit. A maze of different routes, including the Crowder Canyon route and Cajon Canyon route, crossed Cajon Pass. The trail descended Cajon Canyon to Sycamore Grove, then ran west-southwest to present-day Cucamonga, El Monte, San Gabriel, and finally Los Angeles (map 9).

ELIGIBILITY AND FEASIBILITY

INTRODUCTION

The determination of the eligibility of a route as a National Historic Trail is based on the criteria set forth in the National Trails System Act (16 USC 1241, et seq.). Section 5(b)(11) of the act provides three broad criteria that a trail must meet to qualify for designations. These criteria are set forth and the trail is evaluated in the following sections.

Additionally, the National Trails System Act, Sec. 5(b)(3) also states that a trail study should include:

> . . . the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or National Historic Trail; and in the case of National Historic Trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666; 16 USC 461).

The Historic Sites Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to identify and recognize properties of national significance (National Historic Landmarks) in United States history and archeology. National Historic Landmark criteria have been developed to help define properties that have national significance. Therefore, the criteria developed for the evaluation of national significance as part of the National Historic Landmark process are incorporated into the analysis of national significance under the National Trails System Act (Sec. 5(b)(11)(B).

The National Trails System Act states that National Historic Trails should generally be "extended trails," which means they should be at least 100 miles long, although historic trails of less than 100 miles in length are permitted. The distance from Santa Fe to Los Angeles along the main route of the Old Spanish Trail is over 1,160 miles; the North Branch extends over 500 miles from New Mexico to its juncture with the main route; and the Armijo Route extends over 1,020 miles from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. Many additional miles of trail result from other variations in these primary routes.

The following sections evaluate the Old Spanish Trail with respect to each of the three criteria in the National Trails System Act. The "Historical Overview" section of this document should be read before looking at the following analyses.

ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT CRITERIA

Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion A

> (A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential.

There are three elements of criterion A that are discussed in the following sections.

1. Was the Old Spanish Trail a trail or route established by historic use?

This element of the criterion is met.

The intent of this part of the criterion is to ensure that the route being considered was indeed a definable trail used in the historic period and not an arbitrarily created entity. Documentation of the establishment of all routes by historic use is clearly demonstrated in the historical overview.

The Old Spanish Trail was primarily a horse, mule, and burro pack route between New Mexico and Los Angeles. It developed from a number of earlier routes followed by American Indians and Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American explorers, trappers, and traders.

The "Historical Overview" section documents the development of the trail from the earlier routes to its establishment as a connection between New Mexico and southern California. Travel along the route by a variety of individuals and groups is clearly indicated. As demonstrated in the "Historical Overview" section, the "Statement of Significance" section, and the "Other Themes Considered with Respect to National Significance" section, the Old Spanish Trail existed as a trail in the minds of the people during the historic period, as evidenced by direct references to the trail in historic reports, maps, and other documents.

2. Is the Old Spanish Trail significant as a result of the use that established it?

This element of the criterion is met.

In the "Statement of Significance" section of this document, the Old Spanish Trail will be evaluated with respect to national significance. At this level, it is only necessary to establish that Old Spanish Trail use was significant—that is, that it played a role in and had some influence on historical events. A finding of significance at this level does not imply that the requirement for national significance is met.

As described in the "Historical Overview" section, the Old Spanish Trail evolved out of a number of routes followed by American Indians and Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American explorers, fur trappers, and others. The first successful New Mexico trade caravan in 1829, led by Antonio Armijo, created a complete route between New Mexico and the Los Angeles area. The last known regular New Mexican trade caravan arrived in California in 1847 and returned in 1848. After 1848, the use of the section of trail from New Mexico to Utah fell into limited, often local, use, and the more northern and more southern trails to California became the primary routes of travel (Hafen and Hafen 1982:361), although some use of parts of the Old Spanish Trail continued. Subsequently, travelers to and from California occasionally used the route.

Travel between New Mexico and California along the completed route also tied in to other activities previously occurring along various sections of the trail and beyond, including trade with American Indians, trade in American Indian slaves, the fur trade, and illegal trade in horses and mules. As on other trails across the West, travelers along the trail contributed to changes in Indian lifeways and relations between tribes and the Mexicans and Americans. Trade along the Old Spanish Trail tied in to and contributed to a broader economic system, including the Santa Fe Trail/Chihuahua Trail trade and the ranching and maritime trade economy of California. Some immigration occurred along the route involving both New Mexicans and Americans, in which they added to the population of California and became involved in a variety of social, political, economic, and other activities. The Old Spanish Trail trade was part of the economies of California and New Mexico and was, at a minimum, of state-level

significance under the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places. (See discussion of National Register/National Historic Landmark criteria in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B" section.)

3. Is the location of the route of the Old Spanish Trail sufficiently known?

Overall, this element of the criterion is met.

The determination of the location of the trail under the National Trails System Act is related to the concept of "integrity of location" under the National Register/National Historic Landmark evaluation processes. Location is one of seven aspects of integrity. "Location is the place where the ... historic event[s] occurred. The relationship between the property and its location is often important to understanding why the property was created or why something happened. The actual location of a historic property, complemented by its setting, is particularly important in recapturing the sense of historic events and persons" (National Park Service 1998:44). Other aspects of integrity are discussed in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion C" section.

The identification of the Northern and Southern Routes of the Old Spanish Trail and their several variants was based largely on travel diaries and military expedition records. The most specific of these accounts are: Domínguez-Escalante (1776); Orville Pratt (1848); Gunnison (1853); Huntington (1855); Addison Pratt (1849); Cheesman (1850); Macomb (1859); and Parley P. Pratt (1851).

More recently, historians and archeologists have studied the various routes followed by trappers, traders, immigrants, and military expeditions. For example, see Hafen and Hafen (1982); Crampton and Madsen (1994); Sánchez (1997); Warren (1974); and Walker (1986).

Because of the limited and vague nature of the diaries, insofar as geographic details are concerned, it is difficult or impossible to determine the precise routes taken by many individual groups of travelers, especially the New Mexican pack caravans. Assumptions must be made that later travelers (after 1848) were traveling the same routes that were established during the Old Spanish Trail period of significance. Many of the travelers of the Old Spanish Trail were involved in illegal activities such as slave trading and horse or burro theft, and they may also have been taking measures to avoid paying taxes on transported goods. Consequently, these travelers left few written records. Other travelers on different trails connected with the Old Spanish Trail and followed segments of it rather than running the entire length of the trail.

In places, the routes are defined by the topography that limits the potential routes of travel. Mountain passes, river valleys and distinctive crossing points, and springs have been used to define the specific route of the Old Spanish Trail.

The known travelers' accounts helped identify likely major and variant routes along the Old Spanish Trail corridor by describing geographical features, cultural sites, and peoples along the trail. Based on differing translations of Mexican and Spanish documents, and possessing a knowledge of landmarks, geography and geology, and Indian tribes, researchers have mapped likely Old Spanish Trail routes between New Mexico and California. It is clear from travelers' accounts that the route(s) were dictated by several factors, including water sources, forage, ease of travel (terrain and climate), presence of tribes they thought of as "friendly" (often for trading purposes), and absence of those they felt to be "hostile."

For purposes of this study, the route descriptions provided in this document generally follow the trail routes defined by Crampton and Madsen (1994), Sánchez (1997), Walker (1986), Warren (1974), Steiner (1999), and Kessler (1995). It should be noted that some route researchers, such as Crampton, Madsen, Kessler, and Steiner, field tested possible routes on the ground and rejected or accepted a particular route section based on correspondence with written materials, or in some cases based on terrain features deemed too difficult or as likely obstacles to travel. Not all routes and route variants have received the same level of scrutiny, and some route sections, such as the Armijo Route, especially between the Crossing of the Fathers and southwest Utah, would benefit from further on-the-ground testing of possible routes. During scoping meetings for this study, for example, it was suggested that the later use of the Crossing of the Fathers on the Armijo Route would have been impossible for pack trains to negotiate, although the Armijo trade caravan did successfully use the crossing.

Antonio Armijo wrote that his party improved steps carved into the canyon wall by Domínguez and Escalante. The ascent was further improved by later New Mexican caravans, according to reports of the Powell expeditions, which questioned locals (Kelly 1948-1949:350,n. 69). Members of the Powell surveys of 1869 and 1871 referred to "El Vado de los Padres" as the "old Spanish crossing" or the "old Spanish trail." They discussed its use by Mormons, who referred to the crossing as the "old Ute Ford" (Darrah 1947:118; Gregory 1948-1949:54, 71, 98n). Thus, from the time that Domínguez and Escalante were told of this traditional Indian crossing in 1776 to the 1870s there was a transmitted knowledge and ongoing use of the same crossing. The Crossing of the Fathers was, in the 1870s, a route over which Navajos stole stock from Mormon settlements north of the Colorado River. In order to protect themselves, the Mormons blasted away a significant portion of the approach to the river. Only then did the crossing become impassable (Gregory and Moore 1931:11; Birney 1931:117).

Armijo's successful trek was announced in an official publication of the Mexican government. It ended with the statement that such a road between New Mexico and California would be useful to the nation as a whole, as well as to New Mexico (Estados Unidos de Mexico 1830:150). The Armijo Route is an important part of the Old Spanish Trail, because it was the pioneering trade caravan between New Mexico and California. More research may show that other trade caravans also followed this route, as some researchers have suggested (Sánchez 1997:104).

Although there are some disagreements among researchers, and there is potential for other route variants and some corrections of commonly identified routes, it is reasonable to conclude that the identified trail routes were likely utilized by the traders or other travelers along the Old Spanish Trail. However, with a few exceptions, information about most of the trade caravans and immigrants indicates that they left a particular place in New Mexico and arrived in southern California and/or that they left California and arrived in New Mexico. Secondary historic accounts do provide some information in identifying the trail location and identifying it as a place used by identified "Old Spanish Trail travelers." On October 10, 1853, First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, who wrote the report of the Gunnison expedition, recorded, "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly. On some spaces today we counted from fourteen to twenty parallel trails, of the ordinary size of Indian trails or horse-paths on a way of barely fifty feet in width" (Beckwith, in Chenoweth 1999:28). Such a description suggests that there had been considerable use along the trail.

The National Trails System Act does not require that the route of the trail be known exactly, but only sufficiently to evaluate its potential for recreational use and historic interest. This requirement recognizes that the location of trails cannot always be determined as precisely as the location of specific historic sites because the route connecting such sites may have no visible or archeological remains.

Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B

Background. The second of the three National Trails System Act criteria that must be met requires that a trail:

> (B) . . . must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration, and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included.

This criterion sets out the conditions relating to national significance that must be met for a route to become a National Historic Trail. The terms "of national significance," "broad facets of American History," and "far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture" clearly and specifically define the nature of that trail, and the high standard it must meet. Thus, by its very nature, and by definition, a National Historic Trail must possess exceptional national values.

National Trails System Act Criterion B also provides that: "Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included." The sentence in the criterion regarding trails significant to Native Americans does not mean that all trails that had impacts upon American Indians are automatically eligible for National Historic Trail status. Indeed, virtually all historic trails had impacts, often very severe, on tribes. In considering the use of a historic trail, impacts upon American Indians would be considered along with other historic impacts of trail use, even without this language in the Trails act. Those impacts must be still be "far reaching" and national in scope.

The specific language in the act, however, recognizes that the history of the United States did not begin with the arrival of Europeans. American Indians lived, traveled, traded, and interacted here for thousands of years prior to contact with Spanish, and later English and other, explorers and settlers. Trails used by American Indians prior to and even after contact are to be considered as potentially eligible for designation as National Historic Trails. However, they must still meet all the criteria in the act, and must still be found to have had "far reaching effects on broad patterns of American [or more specifically American Indian] culture."

National Historic Landmark criteria parallel the concepts of the National Trails System Act, and provide that:

> The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, technology and culture; and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association ...

There are a number of individual criteria that have been developed for the National Historic Landmark program. Criterion 1 is appropriate for the primary evaluation of the Old Spanish Trail. (Criterion 2 will be discussed later.) Under Criterion 1, national significance is ascribed to a property:

> That is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained;

Guidelines for the interpretation and application of these criteria are set forth in two National Register Bulletins entitled "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (1998)" and "How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations" (1999).

> The events associated with the property must be outstandingly represented by that property and should be related to broad national patterns of U.S. history.... The property can be associated with either a specific event marking an important moment in American prehistory or history or with a pattern of events or a historic movement that made a significant contribution to the development of the United States.
>
> The property that is being evaluated must be documented, through accepted means of historical or archeological research, to have existed at the time of the event or pattern of events and to have been strongly associated with these events. A property is not eligible if its associations are merely speculative. Mere association with historic events or trends is not enough to qualify under this criterion. The property's specific association must be considered of the highest importance.

A key principle in National Historic Landmark studies is that they be comparative in nature. A particular property being evaluated should be compared with other similar properties related to the same context (National Park Service 1999).

Properties that are not deemed to be of national significance may qualify by being of local or state significance under the criteria for the National Register of Historic Places.

National Historic Landmark Criterion 2 applies to properties "that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States." (National Park Service 1999:36)

> This criterion relates to properties associated with individuals whose specific contributions to American history can be identified and documented. The person(s) associated with the property must be individually exceptionally significant within a national historic context. The association must be with the person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.... Each property associated with an important individual must be compared to other associated properties to identify the one that best represents the person's nationally historic contributions. ..." (National Park Service 1999:36).

In applying this criterion to a historic trail, consideration must be given to the National Trails System Act, which requires that the "use of the trail" must have had "far reaching effects on broad patterns of American culture." It is not enough that a nationally significant person followed a trail; rather, that person must have engaged in nationally significant activities on that trail in a way that had a broad impact upon America.

National Historic Landmarks are evaluated for national significance by applying the appropriate criteria to the property within the framework of major themes in United States history. In 1996, The National Park Service Thematic Framework was revised to provide a more comprehensive historical perspective for the evaluation of resource significance, in order to better take into account the diversity and complexity of the human experience. The National Park Service has found that in practice, it is helpful to use the Revised Thematic Framework in conjunction with the 1987 Thematic Framework, which helps provides focus on a more basic, topical conceptualization of the past within the broader themes.

The Old Spanish Trail will be evaluated with respect to a number of themes and topics in American history. Each analysis will consider what the effects of the use of the trail are with respect to the theme and what effects are to be considered of the "highest importance" in American history in comparison to other similar properties. If the trail is deemed to be nationally significant, a period of significance with respect to the theme will also be identified. In the case of Criterion 2, the period of significance would

be the time period in which the person used the trail. Specific theses put forth in the literature about the significance of the Old Spanish Trail will be considered where appropriate.

Statement of Significance: Analysis/Conclusion.

Statement of Significance

The conclusion of this study is that the Old Spanish Trail is **nationally significant** within the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, and the topics of trade and commerce, during the period of 1829-1848. Therefore, the Old Spanish Trail meets Criterion B, Section 5(b) 11, of the National Trails System Act.

The Old Spanish Trail was the first viable Euro-American overland route between Mexico's isolated frontier provinces of New Mexico and California. First blazed by Hispanic traders in 1829, the Old Spanish Trail tied California's burgeoning ranching economy to New Mexico's pastoral industries, and, in the process, was the final link in the first overland international trade network to span the North American continent. Poised at the western terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, the northern end of the Camino Real, and the eastern edge of the Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe, New Mexico became the pivotal cog in this international commercial network. Moreover, northern variants of the Old Spanish Trail integrated elements of the Rocky Mountain fur trade into this commercial web on Mexico's far northern frontier. Old Spanish Trail trading activities had profound impacts on diverse Indian groups and interethnic relations. In many cases, interethnic trade activities that had evolved over the previous two centuries and even earlier underwent significant change. Old Spanish Trail trade led to an increase in illicit trade in stolen herds from California and Indian slavery, and the empowerment of certain tribes, such as the Ute, to the detriment of others, such as the Paiutes. By the time of the U.S. conquest and incorporation of Mexico's northern territories in 1848, American traders sought more direct and accommodating routes to California. Although segments of the Old Spanish Trail continued to be used, other, newer routes eclipsed the trail's importance as the overland trade link between New Mexico and California.

When Mexico achieved its independence from Spain in 1821, the infant nation inherited a vast northern frontier that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. It included nearly a million square miles north of what, in 1772, the Spanish colonial administrator the Marques de Rubi called the colony's line of effective occupation (Rubi: [1772] 1982). The lands were diverse but characterized primarily by vast, prohibitive deserts broken by huge, seemingly impenetrable mountain ranges. Good cultivable lands were rare oases lightly settled by hardy, self-reliant Hispanic settlers who learned to survive with only weak assistance from the federal government. These small population centers stretched like grasping fingers northward from the rest of Mexico. The most durable and important of these were the settlements in New Mexico that extended from Chihuahua along the Camino Real and the Rio Grande, and concentrated in and around the provincial capital of Santa Fe. Small Hispanic population centers had also taken hold in other provincial areas such as California and Texas. Isolation, federal neglect, and self-reliance characterized all of them. Under Spanish rule, colonial regulation and environment combined to control the frontier towns' connection to the rest of the world directly south to Mexico City. At the time of Mexican independence, the articulation of the Mexican nation state on the northern frontier was in danger. The frontier towns' connection to the central republic was weak and the lack of inter-provincial trade and communication enhanced the sense of isolation and vulnerability. Moreover, autonomous or resistant bands and tribes of diverse Indian groups often competed with the Hispanic settlements for control of the deserts and mountains of northern New Spain and young Mexico. While some had coexisted with Hispanic colonial and early national cultural patterns, others remained highly autonomous and resistant to any Hispanic encroachments in their

territory. Warfare and wary coexistence were common features of interethnic relations on the frontier. With the exception of certain tribes and bands near the Hispanic settlements and occasional trading ventures into the Indian territories, there was little attempt to integrate the more isolated bands into the Mexican economy or culture.

Compounding the threats to stability and development on the frontier was the threat of foreign intrusion into Mexico's lands. Defense against both resistant Indian bands and foreign encroachments was historically a significant reason for population settlement on the northern frontier. After the independence of the United States, that nation's expansionist tendencies became clear, and on the verge of Mexican independence Spain hastily negotiated a treaty to protect its colony's northern frontier from U.S. expansion. The new Mexican nation almost immediately felt pressure from the U.S., whose citizens coveted the rich agriculture lands that lined the river valleys of Texas, the rich valleys of California, and the new Mexican markets accessible overland from Missouri to Santa Fe. After Spain's prohibitive colonial trade policies evaporated in 1821, opportunities for international trade with northern Mexico increased. In the decades after Mexican independence, and before the U.S. conquest of far northern Mexico in 1848 and the ensuing rush of American settlers across the West to California and the other western territories, trade was the catalyst for expansion and interethnic contact on Mexico's northern frontier.

The explosion of trade activities into Mexico's northern provinces was immediate. Fur trappers pushed into the mountain forests and river bottoms across the frontier in search of beaver pelts, establishing key trade depots in Taos and other smaller points to the north. Most important, the first link in an overland trade network between the United States and Mexico was established in 1821 when traders from Missouri brought manufactured goods to Santa Fe to trade for silver from Mexico and the basic wool goods New Mexicans produced. The final link in the overland network was achieved in 1829 when the New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo became the first Euro-American to blaze a trail for commercial purposes between Santa Fe and California. The goal had eluded Spanish colonials and Mexican nationals for generations. Armijo's route was informed by information gathered by scores of exploration and trading expeditions that had emanated from New Mexico to the north and west in the proceeding centuries, and by previous trade, missionary, and exploration activity from California to Sonora.

The significance of Armijo's feat in establishing the first variant of what became known as the Old Spanish Trail was apparent throughout the Mexican republic. The achievement was announced in the federal government's official newspaper, which noted the major step forward the trailblazer took in breaking down the isolation of the northern frontier provinces (Estados Unidos Mexicanos: 1830, 150). Others quickly followed. The following year, the fur trappers William Wolfskill and George Yount led a trade caravan to California from New Mexico. That group scouted a more northerly variant of the trail, which became the preferred route for later travelers, although some traders may have continued to use the Armijo route. During the next twenty years, the Old Spanish Trail and its variants became the primary overland trade routes between the frontier territories.

The Old Spanish Trail had notable significance for Mexico, the United States, and the numerous Indian groups in the affected area. The effects of the creation of the first overland trade link that spanned the continent and linked the frontier trade to the Camino Real and the rest of Mexico were unmistakable. Each area contributed its own resources to the trade. California's sprawling ranches became a significance source for horses, mules, and other related breeds. New Mexico's pastoral enterprises supplied woolen goods to California and markets to the east and south. From the north and northwest, trappers brought fur pelts along a variant of the trail called the North Branch. Over the Santa Fe Trail,

traders brought manufactured goods from the markets in the United States. Silver specie came up the Camino Real from the mines in Chihuahua and northern Mexico. All roads led to Santa Fe.

Zenos Lenoard, the oft-quoted fur trader familiar with this trade network remarked about the contribution the Old Spanish Trail made to this international network. Noting the preparations made in California for the annual trade caravan, he recalled that,

> The dry season is occupied by the inhabitants in gathering the mules into large droves and driving them off to market at Santa Fe, ...Here they meet with ready sale at a profitable price from traders at Missouri, who repair to Santa Fe annually for that purpose. There traders are generally well supplied with merchandise which they exchange at Santa Fe for gold and silver, and with these Californian traders for mules and Spanish hides. The price of a mule at Santa Fe is generally from $6 to $10. (Zenos Leonard, 1829: 53-55)

The amount of trade over the Old Spanish Trail was negligible in terms of the total national domestic trade. However, fragmentary figures suggest that in some years the horse and mule trade from California to Santa Fe could have been significant. For example, in 1842 Francisco Estevan Vigil brought over 4,000 mules and horses from California. In California each animal was worth approximately $12 each or could be traded for two serapes. But in Santa Fe and St. Louis, mules could be sold for as much as $45 per head, suggesting that Vigil's merchandise in 1842 could have been valued as high as an astounding $180,000. (Unruh, 1993: 39-43; O'Brien, 1994: 82, 110)

Trade on the Old Spanish Trail consisted almost exclusively of woolen goods moving west and horses and mules coming east. The manufactured goods that were a large part of the Santa Fe trade, with its ties to the east coast and even to Europe, were being supplied in California via the maritime trail. Although some goods from the maritime trade, such as Far Eastern silks, entered into the Old Spanish Trail trade, the extent of this part of the trade is poorly documented. The California economy of maritime/rancho trade would appear to be self-sustaining, as the manufactured goods were being traded for California-produced materials. However, horses and mules from California were fed into the Santa Fe trade.

It has been suggested that horses and mules traded legally and illegally from California were essential to immigration from Missouri to the Pacific Coast along a number of western routes and the Santa Fe trade. Joseph J. Hill noted that "One of the factors of prime importance in the opening of the trails to the Far West at this time was the Missouri-Santa Fe trade and its demand for mules. California had great numbers of mules, which were noted for their size [see discussion below] and quality. This led to the organization of expeditions to that country in the effort to supply the demand of the Missouri traders" (Hill 1921:464-465). Traders sold Spanish mules from California to both markets. Grinnel (1919-1922:48) suggests that the famous Missouri mule trade began with mules from California funneled through Bent's Fort. The famed "Missouri mules," it is claimed, were bred from stock from California as well (Missouri State Board of Agriculture, 1924). The actual case, as will be explained further, is more complicated.

California stock was a very important part of the overall trade on the Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe Trail, and Camino Real. Emmett Essin (1999), who has studied the horse and mule trade across the United States, suggests that an important factor relating to California livestock was the high quality of the California horses, which came from fine Arabian stock. An Arabian mare with a good jack produced a good mule. And while it was smaller than other mules, it was also tougher. As one emigrant recorded in his journal, "It was a noble sight to see those small tough, earnest, honest Spanish mules, every nerve

strained to the utmost, examples of obedience, and of duty performed under trying circumstances (Stewart, 1962, pp. 113-114). "

Essin also points out that the trade along the Old Spanish Trail was part of a much wider trade in horses and mules. The mule industry in the United States began in the late 1700s and there were centers in Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee as well as in California and New Mexico. Juan de Oñate brought mules, jacks, and jennets to New Mexico, as early as 1598. By the 1820s and '30s, Santa Fe had a good stock for breeding mules, which were traded on the Santa Fe Trail. (Essin, 1999) For example, in 1823 the Cooper party returned from Santa Fe with 400 "jacks, jennies, and mules" (Duffus, 1931, p. 81.). According to Essin, the Missouri mule industry began as early as 1821. Missourians bred for large mules using Portuguese and Mexican derived jacks. Mexico also provided a source of mules for Texas and New Mexico. Bryant, (1985, p. 34) for example, while en route to California in 1846, reports passing returning Santa Fe traders driving a herd of about 1,000 mules which they purchased in Chihuahua for $20 per head.

Santa Fe traders and emigrants also used oxen. No solid statistics are available as to the proportion of types of stock used by these groups. Unruh (1993 p.108), speaking of emigrant groups says that "more than half of all overlander's wagons were pulled by oxen. Horses and mules, in that order, followed in frequency of use." Some emigrants brought livestock from their homes in the east. Stewart (1962, pp. 113-114) concludes that the determining factor in using oxen was the comparatively high price of mules.

Overall, however, the horse and mule trade along the Old Spanish Trail was one of the key links in the total trade and it provided some of the finest quality stock that would be preferred by those that could afford it. Prices were high enough to make the arduous journey to California to trade and to risk the dangers of engaging in livestock theft on a large scale.

Perhaps the most important impact trail trade was on the American Indian populations. Evidence has arisen showing that traders who brought New Mexico's woolen goods to trade in California actively encouraged Indian groups to raid the abundant horse and mule herds around California's ranchos and missions. These animals, gotten either in fair barter of through illicit trade with the Indian groups, formed the bulk of the goods brought eastward over the Old Spanish Trail. American fur trappers also became involved in this trade. Jim Beckwourth and others justified their involvement in horse stealing as an attempt to aid the U.S. war effort against Mexico (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p. 245-247). While it may not have actually had any military impact, the livestock theft, taken as a whole, certainly had some effect. "These raids...reached such a scale by the 1840s, that they had badly weakened the Mexican ranchos by depleting the herds. (White, 1991, p. 43) Bryant (1985, p. 445) reports that in 1831 there were 64,000 horses, mules, etc. in California and by 1842 there were 30,000.

The legal and especially illegal trade along the Old Spanish Trail continued and expanded earlier patterns of trade with American Indians. Notably the New Mexican traders traded with tribes, principally the Ute, for slaves taken from other tribes, some of whom were taken to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p.269). Slave raiding expanded with the extension of the Old Spanish Trail to California (Malouf and Findlay, 1986, p. 503). In addition to trade for horses, fur trappers traded guns, tobacco, knives and other goods with the Ute for furs. The trade in slaves and livestock helped some tribes, principally the Ute, become stronger and others, such as the Gosiute and Southern Paiutes, suffered as a result. The Ute became a horse-rich nation and horses and mules they obtained were dispersed through other Indian groups and sold to other travelers. The Ute culture quickly adopted the horse into its cultural and economic activities. The new mobility empowered the Ute to the detriment of neighboring tribes. The rapid rise in the number of traders into Ute territory quickened the inclusion of

these peripheral peoples into the international economy. Ute and other tribal groups along the Old Spanish Trail quickly learned the benefits of trading with the annual caravans. Traders following the trail more often included stops in Indian Territory as part of their trading itinerary. Tragically, Indian enslavement became a critical part of this trade as more powerful Indian groups used Indian captives for barter in the lucrative Old Spanish Trail trade.

Another significant impact to the American Indians tribes along the trail was the effect the heavy trail trade had on the local environment. The frequent passing of large herds of horses and mules played havoc on the sensitive desert environment. Scarce water holes and pockets of grasslands used by impoverished tribes such as the Paiute were routinely destroyed by the passing caravans. This enhanced their vulnerability to attacks from neighboring tribes and subjected the tribes to more desperate survival activities that included trading their young for subsistence. (Van Hoak, 7; Kelly, 1976: 91)

The significance of the Old Spanish Trail is complex. During its period of significance, the trail was entirely within Mexico. The trade activity that occurred along the trail helped to break down the isolation between Mexico's frontier provinces and likely contributed to the sense of a national identity on the frontier. The two decades that immediately preceded the U.S. conquest of the region were crucial years in the development of the Mexican nation and its frontier, and in the evolution of trade, settlement, communication, and Indian relations. These factors had a direct impact on the manner in which the U.S. would acquire this territory. (Webber, 1979, p.135) The Old Spanish Trail began as essentially a Hispanic trade route between two Mexican territories. But over time North American traders played a greater role in trade and the trail became a multicultural trade route that facilitated the transfer and sharing of North American, Mexican, and Native American trade practices. Moreover, the trade route crossed the territories of several autonomous Indian groups and impacted others that were already undergoing significant cultural change as a result of sustained contact with Spaniards and Mexicans.

Period of Significance: Trade and Commerce.

Within the context of national trail studies, the period of significance is the time period in which the nationally significant use occurred on the trail. This study identifies the period of significance of the Old Spanish Trail as 1829 to 1848. Notably, during this period the Old Spanish Trail was entirely within the territorial jurisdiction of the Republic of Mexico.

The Old Spanish Trail provided a commercial connection between New Mexico (and via the Santa Fe Trail to the United States) and California. It developed out of various trails used earlier by American Indians, Spanish explorers, and others. The connection was first completed in 1829 by the Armijo expedition, and the Wolfskill-Yount party completed another connection in 1830-1831. The last known regular New Mexican trade caravan returned to Santa Fe in 1848, which coincided with the end of the War between the U.S. and Mexico and the establishment of U.S. jurisdiction over all portions of the trail. After this period, routes, both north and south, were receiving the bulk of travel to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p.361)

The eastern part of the trail was, for the most part, little used as a route to California after 1848. Two groups of travelers, both in 1853, noted this in their accounts. Gwynn Harris Heap reported, "At our noon halt, we struck a trail which we supposed to be the old trail from Abiquiú to California; but it has been so long disused that it is now almost obliterated" (Heap, 1854, p.89). First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith in his report of the Gunnison expedition wrote; "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly" (Chenoweth, 1999, p.28). Heap was actually looking at the Fishlake Cutoff, a trail variant that came into common use after 1848, and

not the main trail, but the quote suggests that he considered the "old trail from Abiquiú to California" to be no longer actively used.

Although two groups are documented as taking sheep to California along part or all of the Old Spanish Trail in the early 1850s, this activity also reflects the replacement of the trail by other routes. Many thousands more sheep were taken to California primarily along the Gila and other routes through Arizona. One group, including Kit Carson, took a herd of sheep north along the Front Range in Colorado and followed the emigrant trail to California in 1853. They returned along the Gila where they passed thousands of sheep being driven to California. Baxter (1987) documents other groups, primarily using the routes through Arizona in the 1850s. The routes followed by a few groups are unknown, although it would appear that the Gila Route was preferred. There was a lull during the Civil War. After the war, New Mexicans resumed taking sheep to California through Arizona.

Use of the western end of the trail entered a new era beginning in the 1847-48 season, with a documented increase in use by 1850. A wagon road was developed connecting Salt Lake City and the Los Angeles area. Used by Mormons, gold seekers, emigrants, and others, this road utilized much of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail pack route, but varied in places from the pack trail as wagons could not always negotiate the same terrain as pack trains.

The Mormon Road/Mormon Corridor overlaps much of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail and its use during the post 1848 period has some ties to the earlier uses along the Old Spanish Trail. However, it can also be considered a separate historic route with its own coherent pattern of uses and its own period of significance. As a route used by as many as 20,000 gold seekers and other California bound emigrants between 1849 and 1869 (Lyman, 1999, p. 520), it might more appropriately be considered as a variant of the California Trail. As a route reflecting Mormon settlement it could perhaps be considered as an extension of the Mormon Pioneer Trail. Including the Mormon Road in the Old Spanish Trail ignores the section of the former from Salt Lake City to its junction with the Old Spanish Trail. An evaluation of the entire Mormon Road is outside the scope of this study.

The activities of the many and diverse groups of people who created the history of the United States interrelate in complex patterns and the routes that they followed form a network of trails that intersect and overlap. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the Mormon Road is considered to be a separate historic route that has sufficient historical identity to be evaluated on its own merits as to whether or not it is significant in its own right, or an important component of the California or other trail. Conceptually, this is a parallel situation to the overlapping of other historic trails. The Oregon, California, and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trails share the same route for a considerable distance. The Cherokee Trail, used by emigrants to California in the Gold Rush, overlaps the Santa Fe Trail, which was primarily a trade route. In both of these examples each route maintains its individual identity and reasons for significance.

Therefore, the suggested period of national significance for the Old Spanish Trail is 1829 to 1848.

Analysis Of National Trails System Act Criterion C

Background. The third National Trails System Act criterion states that the route

> (C) ... must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreational

potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

Potential for public recreational use and historic interest derives from several factors, including the existence of actual trail resources and historic sites tied to the period of significance of the trail; sections of the trail and sites with good integrity; sufficient information about the trail as a whole and about specific historic sites and events found along it; and potential for the development of opportunities for the public to retrace the original route.

Analysis. The conclusion of this study is that the Old Spanish Trail possesses some strong characteristics of historic interest and recreational potential, and some that are weaker, but that overall it meets this criterion.

A list of historic sites along the trail route is included in this report in the "Archeological and Historic Resources" section. Not all of the sites listed would be eligible for certification as components of a National Historic Trail. The Old Spanish Trail currently has fewer documented historic sites relating to some users when compared to other historic routes of similar length, especially with respect to sites that can be tied to the New Mexican trade caravans. No accounts by New Mexican traders have been found, except for the Armijo trip in 1829, although there are a few second-hand accounts describing trade caravans and incidents on the trail. Without such accounts, knowledge is limited about how the caravans traveled, what was eaten, their encounters with American Indians, where they camped, difficulties they dealt with, diseases, deaths, weather, and all the other day-to-day occurrences on the trail.

Still, the Old Spanish Trail offers potential for interpreting the story of the trail as it relates to those broad themes in American history in which it played a part. Some sites (see the "Archeological and Historical Resources" section) provide good opportunities for helping people learn more about history as it relates to the lives of the Anglo-Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and others who traveled, traded, and interacted along the route. Interpretation of pre-trail-era travel can contribute to visitors' understanding of the little-known politics and problems the Spanish, and later Mexican, governments encountered in trying to hold on to far-flung northern and western territories in the pre-trail period. Within a National Historic Trail administration program, however, interpretation of events leading to the creation of the trail is primarily done to provide context for the trail's period of significance, which is the main focus of interpretation. Because much of the interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail with respect to certain users is not site specific and relates to broad trailwide stories, it may be best accomplished in existing museums and interpretive facilities along the route.

The trail has very strong potential for the development of retracement opportunities. Large sections of the trail cross through undeveloped terrain, including national forests and Bureau of Land Management lands. Over 1,190 miles of the trail are on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management; the USDA Forest Service manages over 310 miles; and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service manage almost 120 miles. This relative lack of development facilitates public access, and minimizes possible conflicts with private land uses. Hiking/horseback trails could be developed on public land where there are longer continuous sections of the historic route. There may also be sections of the trail on private land through which such hiking trails could also be developed if landowners are willing. Such retracement trails could be enhanced by appropriate interpretation.

Historic maps and diaries created by a few travelers—before, during, and after the period of significance—help document trail locations, and many segments of the original routes and some associated sites have been identified. Present-day highways follow parts of the route, and physical

remnants of the trail are present in some areas. The Old Spanish Trail cuts across varied life zones and scenic areas of the Colorado Plateau, the Great Basin, and the Mojave Desert. Portions of the trail follow existing roads, while other parts provide opportunities for a more pristine wilderness experience. This allows for a varied, if general, interpretive experience of the trail period.

Five guidebooks for all or parts of the Old Spanish Trail are already in existence: *In Search of the Spanish Trail. Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848*, by C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen (1994); *Re-Tracing the Old Spanish Trail, North Branch*, by Ron Kessler (1995); *The Mojave Road Guide*, by Dennis Casebier (1986), which covers the Old Spanish Trail's southern fork across the Mojave Desert; Harold Steiner's publication, *The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert: A History and Guide* (1999); and *Backdoor to California*, by Clifford Walker (1986).

The Old Spanish Trail has potential for both historical interest and recreational use related to historical interest. A number of historical organizations and agencies along the trail have expressed support for trail designation, thus indicating the type of grassroots support that is needed to develop National Historic Trail programs. A trailwide organization, The Old Spanish Trail Association, has been in existence for several years.

National Historic Trail programs generally focus primarily on the period of significance. Interpretation of the story of the broad cultural heritage of the areas through which the trail passes that are not covered in National Historic Trail program can still be carried out by other agencies and organizations.

Integrity of Resources. The potential for historical interest and recreational use related to historical interest is in part a result of the integrity of the trail. In National Register of Historic Places terminology, "Integrity of Resources" is much more than a simple determination of resource condition. Rather, the integrity of a resource is the *composite effect* of seven different qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These elements measure the ability of a resource to convey its significance. It is important to ask whether the trail today reflects the spatial organization, physical components, and historical associations that it attained during the historic period. The concepts of design, materials, and workmanship are primarily intended for the evaluation of historic buildings, formal gardens, bridges, and other similar properties that have been built by man. Although there may be limited evidence of road "building" on the Old Spanish Trail, it cannot be evaluated as an example of a built road, but rather as a place where historic events occurred. These three elements of integrity will not be considered because they are not relevant to this analysis.

Integrity of location is evaluated in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion A" section, with respect to its relationship to National Trails System Act, Sec. 5(b)(11)(A).

For a trail, setting, feeling, and association are closely related. Setting is defined as the physical environment of a historic property. Feeling is a property's expression of the esthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time; it results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character. Association is the direct link between an important historic event and a historic property. A property retains association if it is the place where the event occurred and if it is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Like feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character. Association, like feeling, depends on individual perceptions.

The historic character of much of the Old Spanish Trail is tied to its route through the natural environment and the existence of landscapes relatively unchanged from the trail period. In some cases

(for example, changes in land use, especially in the Las Vegas and Los Angeles areas) the setting has changed dramatically. However, in areas of the route that are relatively untouched by changes in land use—such as the mountains of Colorado and Utah and the western deserts—the setting remains much as it was historically. Large-scale features such as mountains, rock formations, and deserts, largely unchanged over the past 150 years, help to give the route much of its integrity.

The awesome surrounding landscapes and the modest physical remains of the route continue to echo and evoke the historic scene. The cumulative effect of the setting— mountains and desert, contrast, and vast vistas—creates a sense of past time and place for any visitor with sufficient knowledge of the historic travel that occurred along the route.

Vegetation still shows a linear patterning along the visible route segments. Much present-day vegetation along the route in the Mojave Desert and away from population centers is similar in type, scale, visual effect, and species to that described historically in route narratives. For example, writers described reaching the Joshua trees on the slopes leading up to Cajon Pass—and despite increasing urbanization, undeveloped areas in California along the route retain stands of Joshua trees.

The trails were functional. They led between water holes and grazing areas, generally over the easiest and most economical routes. In many areas, the mule trail has been overlain and obliterated by later wheeled vehicle traffic. Although the appearance of the single track has been changed, the setting and feeling remain much the same as they were for this historic transportation corridor. Because of the nature of a pack trail, these are subtle concepts, and visitor appreciation is dependent on knowledge of the events of the trail period.

Taken as a whole, many sections of the routes of Old Spanish Trail today are not unlike they were in trail days. Overall, the trail has sufficient integrity of setting, feeling, and association to meet the requirements of the National Trails System Act.

Feasibility and Desirability

Section 5(b) of the National Trails System Act requires that other elements of a trail designation be explored in a trail study. The National Trails System Act contains the following language:

> The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether or not it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible.

Whether or not it would be physically possible to develop a National Historic Trail along the route of the Old Spanish Trail would depend on the ability to identify the historic route across the landscape. It would also depend on the possibility of providing for public use and enjoyment through the establishment of a network of existing or proposed recreational facilities and interpretive sites where visitors could see and travel remnants of the trail. The information in this document clearly demonstrates that physical development of a trail is possible, because the historic route and some associated historic sites are known. Additional sites may be identified with future research.

To determine the financial feasibility, consideration must be given to the cost of a management plan, operational costs, and partnership involvement. There are several different approaches to determining the financial feasibility of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail. The initial funding needed for a new trail would be for the development of a comprehensive management and use plan. In the past, the development of such plans for existing National Historic Trails has cost approximately

$250,000 to $350,000. Preliminary estimates for at least one ongoing trail plan project may exceed those amounts. There may be additional planning costs related to the Old Spanish Trail because the much of the route is on federal lands, and national historic trail designation may require revisions to existing land use/management plans.

Trails require a base operating budget for the federal administering agency. On the basis of current National Historic Trail operations, it is estimated that $400,000 annually would be required to provide a minimum level of professional staff and support services to operate a multi-state National Historic Trail. Experience with existing National Historic Trails indicates that, as trails develop successfully, there is likely to be an increased demand by state and local agencies, organizations, and landowners for services and funding for trail programs.

Funding levels would not include large-scale projects such as video or film productions, major exhibit design and production packages, or extensive resource preservation. These kinds of projects would have to be funded through line item congressional appropriations or fund-raising efforts. In recent years, National Historic Trails have benefited from the authorization by Congress of funding designated for Challenge Cost-Share Programs based on a fifty-fifty match of federal and non-federal funds. Because the non-federal share can be supplied through volunteer time and other in-kind services, these programs are especially attractive to the volunteer trail organizations and historical groups who support trails. Many small projects have been accomplished along the existing National Historic Trails through cost-share funding.

In the designation of a route as a National Historic Trail, consideration must be given to the need for overall federal coordination and assistance, and the willingness of public agencies, nonprofit organizations, and individuals to participate in the protection, interpretation, and management of the trail.

Federal coordination of and assistance with visitor use and preservation is addressed in the "Alternatives" and "Environmental Consequences" sections.

The willingness and interest on the part of public agencies, private organizations, and individuals in participating in the protection, interpretation, development, and management of the trail have been demonstrated by many activities and projects that are under way or have been completed, some of which are documented in the "Potential Partnerships" section. Those activities are directly related to the protection and interpretation of resources related to the Old Spanish Trail. As is outlined in this study, in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion C" section, there is good potential for public recreation and historical interpretation along the Old Spanish Trail.

Section 5(b) of the trail act also requires that the feasibility study address the following elements. The following indented paragraphs are the elements from the National Trails System Act. They are followed by a discussion of the Old Spanish Trail relative to each element. In a few cases, there may be further discussion of the element elsewhere in the document.

> (1) the proposed route of such trail, including maps and illustrations

Maps are provided in Appendix C of this document..

> (2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be used for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or development purposes

The significant natural and cultural resources associated with the Old Spanish Trail are described in this study. If it is designated a National Historic Trail, only the route segments and sites that have a direct and significant tie to the historic period would be developed for public use and/or be eligible for preservation assistance in cooperation with landowners and land managers. However, other agencies and organizations could provide for protection and interpretation of other resources along the trail route, and, where appropriate, could provide interpretive media coordinated with Old Spanish Trail media at trail sites, using non-National Historic Trail funding sources. Such coordinated activities have been successfully conducted for other National Historic Trails, providing for a broader and richer visitor experience.

> (3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or National Historic Trail; and in the case of National Historic Trails, the report shall include the recommendation of the secretary of the interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666, 16 USC 461).

The national significance of the Old Spanish Trail with respect to the Historic Sites Act is discussed in the Statement of Significance in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B" section. The determination of significance identified in this feasibility study is based on a revision to an earlier draft that found insufficient data upon which to determine significance. Research was ongoing, however, during the period of public review, and the National Park Service eventually determined that sufficient data existed to revise its previous findings. The revised findings were presented to the National Park Service Advisory Board's National Historic Landmark Committee in November 2000. The Landmarks Committee deferred making a judgement on the study's findings until the revisions were incorporated into the document. The revised study was reintroduced to the Landmarks Committee in May 2001, at which time the Landmarks Committee supported the determination of significance, but recommended that the revised document undergo another round of scholarly review. The National Park Service Advisory Board met later in May and endorsed the findings of the Landmarks Committee.

The National Park Service distributed copies of the feasibility study for review to the four historians, who were contracted in 1999 to review and evaluate the draft feasibility study. In 2000, the four scholars were divided on their evaluation. Two said that they felt the trail was probably nationally significant, but agreed with the draft feasibility study's conclusions that insufficient data existed to make that claim using the criteria stated. The other two agreed that the evidence did not support a finding of national significance, and doubted that any additional research would yield new information. Both agreed the trail was probably of local or state significance. In 2001, one of the historians chose not to comment. The two historians, who originally felt the trail was significant, agreed with the revised finding. After considering the new analysis, the fourth historian reconsidered his earlier statement that the trail was not nationally significant and gave full support for the revised study's findings and for the designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a national historic trail.

> (4) the current status of landownership and current and potential use along the designated route

Landownership and land use are discussed in more detail in the "Landownership and Land Use" section. Approximately 1,700 miles of the over 3,560 miles of trail route are on federal lands; about 295 miles are on American Indian reservations and trust lands; about 277 miles are on state-owned lands; and about 1,290 miles are on private lands. The land use along the route alignments varies, and includes intensive agriculture and grazing, recreational and multiple use federal lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management and USDA Forest Service, National Park System areas, low-density rural residential lands, and urban and industrial uses.

(5) the estimated cost of acquisition of land or interest in land, if any

Little or no federal land acquisition is anticipated. The management of the National Historic Trail would depend on cooperative partnerships among the administering federal agency, interested property owners or land managers, and other entities.

(6) the plans and costs for developing and maintaining the trail

See the introduction to this section for a discussion of plans and costs.

(7) the proposed federal administering agency

The assignment of national historic trail administration duties has generally followed the recommendation found in Section 5(b) of the National Trail System Act, which states that the Secretary of Interior shall conduct trail feasibility studies "through the agency most likely to administer such trail." The Secretary assigned responsibility for this feasibility study to the National Park Service.

The established practice of assigning agency trail administration duties is currently under review. The National Park Service administers 10 of the other 13 designated national historic trails. The National Park Service Long Distance Trails Group Office in Santa Fe administers or co-administers the Santa Fe Trail and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trails. In early 2001 the Secretary of Interior directed the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management to co-administer El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail. This approach to trail administration is currently in the planning stages. If the Secretary directs the National Park Service to administer the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail, then it would be appropriate to administer the trail from the Santa Fe office.

To protect the resources along the trail and to provide for public use and interpretation, the lead federal administering agency would work in partnership with key trail-managing federal agencies (such as the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management and the USDA Forest Service); the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California; and organizations and individuals, to render mutual support. Agencies, organizations, and private landowners retain management responsibility for their lands and participate in trail programs on a voluntary basis, assuming that federal land acquisition is limited. An existing memorandum of understanding providing for cooperative activities along national trails among the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, and USDA Forest Service was revised and strengthened in 2001, and now includes also the Federal Highway Administration and the National Endowment for the Arts.

(8) The extent to which a state or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary land and in the administration thereof

Little or no land acquisition is envisioned. Recent National Historic Trail legislation restricts federal land acquisition to willing-seller/willing-buyer situations. Donations of land may occur, and it is usually beneficial to have ownership of such donated land remain at the local level. However, based on state, regional, and local support, states and counties, as well as nonprofit and other public organizations, would become more supportive in the subsequent management of the National Historic Trail. As is mentioned in the "Potential Partnerships" section, there is a growing commitment and involvement on the part of agencies, organizations, and individuals along the trail.

(9) The relative uses of the land involved, including the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such a trail; the number of months that such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision and regulation of such trail

The designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail probably would lead to some increase in visitation and tourism revenues. The increase would probably not be significant on a regional and statewide scale. Tourism could increase in local communities along the trail corridor. Other federal, state, local, and private entities would benefit from the overall coordination of activities to preserve and protect trail-related resources, to interpret the trail, and to provide consistent opportunities for visitor use. The coordination of visitor services and interpretation could potentially increase tourism revenue.

Designation would have locally beneficial effects on the socioeconomic environment. Local communities would benefit from some increased recognition and possibly greater understanding of cultural heritage, as well as from greater opportunities to interpret the trail.

The effects on land values resulting from designation would be few and limited. As previously mentioned, little or no land acquisition is anticipated. Restrictive language in the actual trail designation legislation, as is the case with other National Historic Trails, could limit federal land acquisition to willing sellers only. Some landowners might benefit from the sale of lands and easements. It is possible that local municipalities would prohibit incompatible development that would adversely affect trail resources. Landowners and developers could be adversely affected by such actions of local governments. The owners of adjacent property might benefit from such land use actions.

Protected trail segments with recreational values might increase nearby residential property values. In some cases, there could be a loss in property values because of visitor use on adjacent properties, although the study team is not aware of evidence of this on current National Historic Trails. Adverse impacts would be mitigated by involving affected landowners and other interests in the protection of the trail and the natural and cultural landscapes that are near the trail.

(10) The anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed National Historic Trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historical significance

If the Old Spanish Trail is designated as a National Historic Trail, a comprehensive management and use plan would be prepared that would address the general locations and levels of recreational use. Mitigating measures would be adopted to ensure that there would not be any degradation of resources. Public use levels would be managed so that resources would not be adversely affected. All federally funded, approved, or sponsored projects on National Historic Trails are subject to compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act, the Historic Preservation Act, and other federal and state resource protection laws.

Potential Partnerships

Numerous trail segments are within or adjacent to federally owned land managed by agencies such as the USDA Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and National Park Service; and Defense Department installations at Fort Irwin in California, Nellis Air Force Range in Nevada, and White Sands Missile Range/Utah Launch Complex near Green River, Utah.

In Colorado, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has worked on documenting and interpreting the route. For example, the Gunnison River Bluffs public use plan was drafted by the Bureau of Land Management's Grand Junction Field Office, with input and support from Mesa County planners and commissioners, the Mesa County Riverfront Commission, the City of Grand Junction, and numerous other public and private groups and interested citizens. This plan incorporated measures for interpretation and public use of sections of the Old Spanish Trail. The county purchased land, trailheads were constructed, and a brochure was developed. This successful cooperative effort has set aside areas of open space and provided for public education and recreation for the benefit of all.

BLM's San Luis Resource Area manages the Limekiln Wagon Tracks site in the San Luis Valley. The bureau has provided for construction of a parking lot, road diversion, and overlook. These public facilities help to protect these extant resources while helping the public to learn about their history.

The Montrose District BLM researched Old Spanish Trail locations within their area, and erected an interpretive kiosk for the public at Wells Gulch on U.S. Highway 50. Brochures on the Old Spanish Trail have been developed and distributed by the BLM's Anasazi Heritage Center in Dolores, Colorado.

The Bureau of Land Management surveyed the route of the Old Spanish Trail from Las Vegas, Nevada, to the California border, and documented extant trail segments and associated artifacts. The California Desert District and the Barstow Field Office of the BLM in California have established a hiking trail along a segment of the Armagosa River, and are working with Friends of the Armagosa River toward wild and scenic designation for the river.

The USDA Forest Service and the BLM have joined the Río Grande County Tourism Board and the Old Spanish Trail Association as partners in preserving, protecting, and interpreting the trail. These partners are planning for heritage tourism (for example, interpretive stations and artwork related to the route) to enhance visitors' experiences in the San Luis Valley.

One of the important campsites/water holes along the trail, Bitter Spring, is located within the Defense Department's Fort Irwin Military Reservation in California. Fort Irwin personnel have arranged for site inventories, and have adopted protective measures for the site.

The Utah Historical Society is interested in developing an official, easily recognizable sign logo.

The Old Spanish Trail Association reports more than 260 members. These memberships include historians, archeologists, public land managers, educators, writers, photographers, and members of the public. This group has been active in supporting a National Historic Trail designation, and conducts tours, conferences, and seminars; distributes newsletters and educational brochures; and actively explores and documents sections of the route.

A group of interested citizens in Durango, Colorado has erected a memorial marker to the Old Spanish Trail, Domínguez-Escalante, and Juan Rivera.

The Grand Junction chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution donated funds to place a bronze statue to memorialize pioneer women who entered the Grand Valley over the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. This statue has been placed in a new city park that overlooks the Colorado River and an identified stretch of the Old Spanish Trail.

The Grand Junction/Mesa County Riverfront Commission passed a resolution designating the Old Spanish Trail (Northern Branch) as a historic trail. This resolution was distributed to all members of the Colorado and Utah congressional delegations.

Friends of the Mojave Road in Essex, California, publish a newsletter, conduct tours, document sites and road segments, and maintain a large reference library of materials related to the Mojave Road, and to the Old Spanish Trail of which it became a part.

The Las Vegas Valley Water District has been active in supporting the Mojave Desert Preserve, and has developed a master plan for its preservation. The district's North Well Field, within the preserve, contains significant prehistoric and historic cultural resources, including the Big Springs Archaeological District. Big Springs was an important camping area on the Old Spanish Trail.

The route traverses several Indian reservations, so tribes might be interested in cooperative education and resource preservation efforts.

The Workman and Temple Family Museum, City of Industry, California, features artifacts and interpretation relating to the Workman family, including their journey along the Old Spanish Trail. Visitors to this local history museum come to appreciate the broad impact that the trail had on the development of California and the West.

Other specialized museums and archives with an active interest in the Old Spanish Trail include the Diocese of San Bernardino Office of Archives; the San Bernardino County Museum Association in Redlands, California; the Riverside Municipal Museum; and the Barstow River Valley Museum in Barstow, California. The Utah Westerners have helped to locate and sign route segments.

The master plan for San Bernardino County, California, includes recognition and interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail. In addition, the City of Victorville is working on riverwalk trails that may parallel or follow the actual route of the Old Spanish Trail.

A new memorial to the Old Spanish Trail on the Pueblo de Los Angeles Plaza was created through the combined efforts of private individuals, Los Pobladores de Los Angeles, and the Old Spanish Trail Association.

The Amigos de Anza and Los Californianos groups have expressed interest in the Old Spanish Trail.

The Virgin River Land Preservation Association (Utah) is working on an extensive trail system in the Virgin River Basin, which would likely include trail sections along the Old Spanish Trail and the Domínguez-Escalante Route, and key access points and facilities.

OTHER THEMES CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

GENERAL

Although trade was the primary activity that occurred along the Old Spanish Trail, it was not the only one. Those associated with other themes were analyzed and found to have at least state or local significance. In some cases, the determination is that the travel is part of a longer route that overlaps part of the Old Spanish Trail, and it is not appropriate to ascribe the significance of the particular travel to the Old Spanish Trail.

Throughout the early history of the United States, many people from diverse backgrounds traveled over a wide network of trails. Virtually all of them were engaging in activities that, taken as a whole, had an impact on the development of our nation's history and culture. It should not be concluded, based on the following discussions, that when the travel of particular groups is determined not to be nationally significant this indicates that the travel was not at some level important, or that the achievements of travelers are to be considered insignificant. Indeed, anyone who traveled long distances across the West in historic times should be given considerable credit for their courage, daring, and tenacity. However, the goal of a national trail study is to determine those routes that were not only part of the important events in America's history, but that, by themselves, had broad impacts on that history. Some trails may meet the criteria for national significance within one theme, while a lesser number might be significant with respect to more than one theme. Many historic trail routes are meritorious, and would be significant at the local and state levels. A few trails would be considered outstanding, and thus would meet the criteria for designation as National Historic Trails.

Events happening along the Old Spanish Trail as a whole, but more frequently only along sections of the trail, played a role in many of the broader national themes being played out across the West, including exploration, immigration, commerce, impacts upon and relations with American Indians, the fur trade, and more. However, when examined in detail, the events along the Old Spanish Trail can be seen as parts of larger themes developing across the West in which the trail did not play a critical role. The trail would have a local or state level of significance with respect to these themes, but would not be considered to have an association of the "highest importance," or to have had "far reaching effects on broad patterns of American culture," as called for in the National Historic Landmark criteria and the National Trails System Act. Aside from the people who used the entire trail between New Mexico and California, other users of the Old Spanish Trail, such as later military surveyors or Mormons on the western segment, were engaged in trips that only took them along sections of the trail, as part of longer journeys. Many of these journeys may be historic trails in their own right, and the insignificance should be ascribed to the entire length of the particular journey, not to the Old Spanish Trail.

IMMIGRATION

Immigration to California on the Old Spanish Trail by New Mexicans, United States citizens, and others must be analyzed in the context of the population in the region, and the total movement of people to the area along the Old Spanish Trail in comparison to other routes people used to move to California.

Population estimates of non-Indians in California between 1821 and the Gold Rush vary. While specific numbers may not be completely accurate, the overall trends are consistent. Sánchez (1999:15) gives the following estimates:

> ... in the late Spanish period the population [of California] was barely creeping over 3,000 people .... Throughout the 1840s the population of California fluctuated probably reaching around 10,000, 12,000, 15,000 maybe 25,000 by the early days of the Gold Rush. But by 1852, with the gold rush, the population of California swelled to over 225,000 inhabitants.

During the same period, New Mexico had an estimated population of 45,000 in 1821, and 65,000 in 1846, showing only a 2.1 percent growth rate compared to 5 percent for California and 1.1 percent for Mexico as a whole (Weber 1982:195, 206).

Weber (1982:206) gives an estimate for the Hispanic population of California of 3,320 in 1821 and 7,300 in 1845, which is similar to the 7,000 cited by Dr. John Marsh in an 1845 letter (Shinn 1890:532). A rather high figure for the population of *Alta California* in 1836 of 29,000, with a population for Monterey of 2,500, is found in the *Diario Oficial* (Estados Unidos de Mexico 1836:180) in Mexico City. The *Diario Oficial* also gives figures for *Baja California* of 20,000 and New Mexico of 150,000, with a population in Santa Fe of 5,000 (ibid.). Faxon D. Atherton gives an 1838 estimate of the California population as "probably about 4,000 white inhabitants, mostly descendants of Spanish soldiers [and] about 500 foreigners, 2/3 of which a[re] hunters and sum[m]ary sailors" (Hollis 1999, quoting from the Atherton manuscript collection).

"The foreign male population not of Spanish blood has been given as 150 in 1830, 300 in 1835, 380 in 1840, and 680 in 1845" (Bancroft 1886b:524). Dr. John Marsh, in an 1845 letter, estimates that there were about 900 foreigners in California, of whom about 700 were American (Shinn 1890:531-532). About 1848, the non-Hispanic/non-Indian population of California was around 4,200 (Bancroft 1886b:524).

Spain and Mexico were not successful in encouraging colonists to move north to California, leading to a policy of sending convicts north as settlers (Weber 1982:188). Convicts were sent to Santa Cruz and San Jose, California, in 1795. Some convict colonists arrived in 1825, and in 1829 a more systematic program was initiated. About 150 convicts came to California in 1829-1830, leading to protests from the citizens of California. In 1842, an additional 150 convicts and their women reached California (Weber 1982:189).

Another group of settlers, primarily from the Mexico City area, came to California in 1834. A total of 239 colonists were recruited to establish a settlement in northern California as a check against the Russian settlement at Fort Ross. These settlers included many with professions and trades, such as teacher, lawyer, doctor, carpenter, and shoemaker. They arrived in California by ship. The establishment of the colony failed due to political disputes, but most of the colonists stayed in California (Weber 1982:185-186).

Immigration by Hispanic New Mexicans along the Old Spanish Trail was relatively limited, although it would appear that there was little, if any, New Mexican immigration to California that did not use the Old Spanish Trail. New Mexican immigration began in the late 1830s, with the largest groups in the 1840s, which led to the establishment of the communities of Agua Mansa and La Placita (Harley 1998:34). Based on known groups and individuals, it would appear that perhaps 200 to 400 New Mexicans are known to have moved to California during the late 1830s and early 1840s. It is difficult to estimate the totals because the record often only lists number of families and not number of individuals. Further research may help clarify the actual numbers of immigrants from New Mexico.

The communities of Agua Mansa and La Placita did serve as a buffer against incursions by Indian groups, and participated in punitive expeditions against such raiders. They also participated in at least

one battle against American forces during the Mexican-American War. Such activities, while notable within the historic context of the period, do not appear to demonstrate a "far reaching effect" or an "association of the highest importance" with nationally significant events. Based on known information, these communities would probably be considered of state-level significance. Similarly, the arrival of a group of 100 or 150 people in the Los Angeles area would certainly be important and locally significant, and, given the population of California overall, might be of significance at the state level, but there is no indication that this had an impact at the national level for either Mexico or the United States.

Non-Hispanic immigration to California from the 1820s into the 1850s came from a variety of sources, including the Old Spanish Trail. Beginning in the 1820s, fur trappers were making their way into California through a number of routes across Arizona. The various routes through Arizona are sometimes collectively referred to as the "Gila Route." From 1828 to 1832, a number of the trappers (approximately 16 or more based on counting names documented by Weber and others) stayed in California (Weber 1971). Dr. John Marsh, who is often mentioned as traveling the Old Spanish Trail to California, actually went by means of a roundabout route to Chihuahua and eventually along the Gila (Warren 1974:111-112). The majority of non-Hispanic immigrants to California prior to the 1840s arrived by sea (Billington and Ridge 1982:503). Beginning in the 1820s, Americans and others left (legitimately, or by jumping ship) ocean-going trading ships to become residents of California. Immigration by land increased in the 1840s; immigration by sea did not stop. For example, Bancroft (1886:525) estimates that about 230 immigrants came to California by sea in 1846.

Weber (1971:153) suggests that other American trappers may have gone to California by way of New Mexico. He cites one example in which a group of Tennessee trappers were in Monterey in 1836. There is no evidence of the route followed by such groups or how many, if any, stayed in California. In 1833, a group of 40 men led by Joseph Walker traveled across northern Utah and northern Nevada, and probably entered California somewhere near Mono Pass. In 1834, the group left California, but six chose to stay to "exchange the life of a trapper for that of a ranchero or mechanic ... " (Goetzmann 1966:154).

In 1841, the same year that the Rowland-Workman party traveled to California on the Old Spanish Trail, the Bidwell-Bartleson party of about 30 became the first immigrants on the route that became known as the California Trail. The California Trail brought the Hastings' party of 40 in 1843, followed by another large group the same year; and in 1845, about 250 immigrants came to California by the northern routes (Billington and Ridge 1982:505). Unruh (1993:119) estimates a total overland immigration to California at 2,735 between 1841 and 1848. With the Gold Rush beginning in 1849, over 200,000 people immigrated to California primarily along the California Trail and its variants (Unruh 1993:120). Some followed the Mormon Road from Salt Lake City to southern California, and thus also followed the western end of the Old Spanish Trail. Use of this route became popular for travelers who arrived from the East too late in the season to be able to cross the Sierra Nevada by the more direct California Trail.

A look at non-Mexican immigration shows that the influx of foreigners into California by land on all routes, up until the Mexican-American War, was outweighed by immigration by sea. Before the 1840s, the total immigration on the Old Spanish Trail by Americans was slightly higher than immigration along the Gila Route. In 1842, American immigration on the Old Spanish Trail and the California Trail was about equal; after that time, non-Hispanic immigration on the Old Spanish Trail was small, while such immigration increased gradually, primarily along the California Trail, until the Gold Rush resulted in a massive increase in the population of California.

Overall, non-Mexican immigration to California along the Old Spanish Trail was one part of a diverse pattern of immigration using many routes in the 1820s through the 1840s. It was never the dominant route of immigration, and would therefore qualify as being of state significance but not of national significance within this context.

The movement of people and settlement on the Old Spanish Trail and the impact of this movement were a small part of the whole. By itself, this movement was associated with historical events; however, it does not qualify as nationally significant, because the "specific association" was not, by itself, when compared with all other routes of immigration, of the "highest importance," which is called for in the National Landmark criterion. It would qualify as having state-level significance.

THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

Some historical accounts (Sánchez 1999, for example) suggest that the American immigrants going to California on the Old Spanish Trail played an important role, especially prior to 1840, in the American "fifth column" (Weber 1971:152), which helped promote the American takeover of California. Mexican officials in California and Texas were voicing the same sentiment in the 1830s and 1840s. However, while Americans traveling the Old Spanish Trail did join this "fifth column," so did those who entered California by means of the Gila and other routes. The hundreds who arrived by sea significantly outnumbered those who arrived by land

While some of those who immigrated to California on the Old Spanish Trail played leadership roles in the American community, such as John Rowland and William Workman (Hafen and Hafen 1982:216-219), so did many more who arrived by other routes, such as John Marsh, Thomas Larkin, John Sutter, and Abel Stearns, all of whom were major figures among the Americans and other foreigners in California (Billington and Ridge 1982:500).

The activities of Old Spanish Trail travelers in California do not seem to derive directly from their travel on the Old Spanish Trail as much as they did from their later economic, social, and political activities in California and a general support of American expansion. This would hold true for many other foreigners who arrived by other routes, such as those coming through Arizona. Landownership and other business interests provided incentives for increasing political and economic power. What was happening in California can be compared to similar activities in New Mexico, in which some traders initially moved to New Mexico in order to continue their Santa Fe Trail trade activities. Their economic incentive for an American takeover in New Mexico was more directly tied to their Santa Fe Trail trade activities. The close tie between the American takeover of Mexico and the Santa Fe trade was expressed by Senator Thomas Hart Benton with regard to the Mexican-American War: "Our first care in this sudden change in our relations with that country [Mexico] was to try and take care of our Santa Fe trade. For this purpose it will be proposed to the people of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and other internal provinces, that they remain quiet and continue trading with us as usual, upon which conditions they shall be protected in all their rights and treated as friends" (Lamar 1966:57). It does not appear that the continuation of trade and travel on the Old Spanish Trail was a similar concern in the activities of the foreigners in California, although continued involvement in the tallow and hide trade, land speculation, and landownership were incentives. This sentiment is illustrated by a saying among American merchants in California who converted to Catholicism for the sake of trade, "A man must leave his conscience at Cape Horn" (White 1991:50).

Travelers in the American underground who used the Old Spanish Trail to get to California were a small part of a much larger group who arrived along numerous routes and who were involved in similar

activities. Their activities were tied more directly to political and economic interests in California, and there is little tie between these later activities and their use of the Old Spanish Trail.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN TOWNS

It has been suggested that the development of towns such as San Bernardino, Las Vegas, Cedar City, Moab, Durango, and others on the Old Spanish Trail was significant (Gough 1999). Gough suggests that in the arid West, towns that developed along trails tend to thrive while those not along these routes do not. This process can be compared with the relationship of waterways to the development of towns in the East. Some towns and cities along the Old Spanish Trail predate the trail era. For example, Santa Fe was settled in 1610 and was not then directly along a major trail, and Los Angeles was settled by sea in 1769. Overall, this idea may have some merit with regard to many western trails.

The development of such trail-related towns ties to many factors, including available resources, water, and other factors, such as railroads. Cedar City, for example, was founded as part of the Mormon Church's Iron Mission largely because of the resources available in the area, and was not directly a result of the Old Spanish Trail traffic between New Mexico and California. The town of Durango was plotted out as a railroad town in 1880. Moab was first settled by a group of Mormons in 1855; they were forced to leave, and settlers did not return until 22 years later. The Spanish established several missions in the San Bernardino valley. Hispanic settlement in the San Bernardino valley was encouraged as a "shield against unwanted intruders passing over the Cajon Pass on the Old Spanish Trail" (Gough 1999:23) and settlers from New Mexico, who traveled the Old Spanish Trail, established communities in the area. Mormons established a colony at San Bernardino in the early 1850s.

While the overall settlement of the West by Euro-Americans might be considered nationally significant, the development of towns such as San Bernardino, Las Vegas, Moab, Cedar City, Durango, and others along the Old Spanish Trail would not be deemed to have a "far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture," as is required by the National Trails System Act, or to be of the "highest importance," or "outstandingly represent" these events. These towns are fairly typical western towns compared to others of similar size, although in recent years, many have been thriving because of recreational, economic, lifestyle, and other contemporary reasons. They would qualify as being of local, or in some cases of state, significance.

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS AND TRAVEL

The Old Spanish Trail was used by a number of military groups and groups with military associations. Most of this travel involved the use of sections of the trail of varying lengths as parts of longer trips. Evaluation of the significance of these various and unrelated trips requires a comparison with the significance of similar military travel during the same time period. Most of these expeditions used only part of the Old Spanish Trail. There are two issues to consider: One is determining the significance of a particular trip; the second is whether the significance of that expedition is to be ascribed to the Old Spanish Trail or to the entire route of the trip being considered.

In evaluating the military expeditions on the Old Spanish Trail, it is important to note that there were many military expeditions across the West that did not involve the Old Spanish Trail, which are well documented by Goetzmann (1966 and 1959). Other railroad survey expeditions in 1853 include Parke (1853) and Pope (1853), both along the 32nd parallel; and Stevens and McClelland, both along 47th and 49th parallels. Expeditions around the time of the Mexican-American War include Frémont (1844);

Abert (1845); Emory-Kearny (1846); and Cooke (1846). Later expeditions include Stansbury (1849); Sitgreaves (1851); Marcy-Simpson (1849); Warren (1855, 1856, 1857); Raynolds (1859-1860); and Parke (1859-1860). A complete analysis of the significance of the expeditions that used parts of the Old Spanish Trail would require a theme analysis and comparison with these other similar expeditions.

A number of "Mormon War" expeditions were sent out to find routes into Utah in anticipation of the need to supply manpower for the U.S. Army troops that were part of Albert Sidney Johnston's Army of Utah, including Macomb's trip (Goetzmann 1966:306). Johnston's troops were sent to Utah in anticipation of a Mormon revolt. According to Goetzmann (1966:306), the 1858 expedition led by Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives was one of the most important of these expeditions, leading to the first Euro-American explorations of the bottom of the Grand Canyon. Dr. Newberry, who had been with Macomb, was also the geologist on this expedition. A major accomplishment of Macomb's expedition was scientific observations by geologist John S. Newberry. Goetzmann suggests that Macomb's expedition was almost equal in importance to that of Ives. Another "Mormon War" expedition was the Great Basin exploration led by Captain James Hervey Simpson, which allowed geologist Henry Engelmann "an opportunity to make a complete transcontinental profile from the Mississippi to the Pacific (Goetzmann 1966:309).

Frémont's journey of exploration in 1843-1844 overlapped segments of the Old Spanish Trail along its western half. This and Frémonts 1842 expedition have often been cited as his most significant. In his published report, which came out in early 1845, he named the Old Spanish Trail for the first time to the American public. More importantly, the report identified correctly the Great Basin, thus filling the last void in contemporary maps of the central North American continent. Goetzmann (1959:103) says that Frémont's most important influence was not on government officials but on the public. His report helped fuel the urge for westward expansion, and his report and maps were used by some immigrants as guides in their westward trek (Goetzmann 1979:93). Frémont's glowing report of the Great Salt Lake area inspired Brigham Young to bring the Mormons there to settle (Goetzmann 1979:92). There are reports that some caravan commanders on the Old Spanish Trail carried copies of Frémont's report as a guidebook (Wylly 1978). However, it is doubtful that his short journey along a segment of the Old Spanish Trail was the most important part of his trip, as compared to the segment along the Oregon Trail. In 1846, a map based on Frémont's data was published showing the Oregon Trail in great detail, and this map was widely used by western travelers (Goetzmann 1959:105-106). His report did induce some travelers to follow in his footsteps on the variant route along the Amargosa River across part of the Mojave Desert (Warren 1974:180), and many immigrants following the road from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles did take copies of his writings along.

A full analysis of the significance of Frémont's entire journey and his other explorations is beyond the scope of this study. There is no doubt that he was individually a significant historical figure, and that his explorations were significant in American history. Goetzmann (1966:240) suggests that Frémont's explorations between 1842 and 1845 may even surpass the importance of the Lewis and Clark expedition in "the calculated use of exploring expeditions as diplomatic weapons." Robert Utley agrees, and, in referring to Frémont's accomplishments in his 1842 and 1843-1844 expeditions, suggests that Frémont "ranks with a handful of premier explorers of the American West." (Utley 1997: 202) However, it is the *entire route* of Frémont's expedition to which significance should be ascribed, and not the entire Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California, when only parts of that trail were actually used by Frémont.

Gunnison's trip has been described as "the worst disaster suffered by the Army in the West up to that time, and the publicity it received was a severe blow to advocates of a central railroad route ... " (Goetzmann 1966:287). First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, who wrote the report of the Gunnison

expedition, became the leader of the remainder of the expedition after Gunnison's death. Beckwith explored the Wasatch, and then, with the addition of survivors of Frémont's "second disaster," he took the group west from Salt Lake City along the 41st parallel anticipating "the actual route taken by the first transcontinental railroad." However, he did not put cost estimates in his final report, and it was "virtually ignored" in the final evaluation of the railroad surveys (Goetzmann 1966:288).

According to Goetzmann (1959:295-304), the railroad exploration expeditions did not have their desired effect of providing a conclusion regarding the best route for a railroad—although the 38th parallel route was eliminated early as a result of Gunnison's survey. Overall, Goetzmann maintains, the route selection was illogical, and the information collected was sometimes inaccurate, and of dubious value in making a selection. Politics and regional boosterism continued as the surveys were evaluated. In the end, the controversy over which was the best route continued. Ultimately, the Central Pacific Railroad, building eastward from California, and the Union Pacific Railroad, moving westward across Nebraska and Wyoming, completed their own surveys to determine the final route prior to their historic meeting at Promontory Point in Utah.

There were numerous expeditions primarily led by the U.S. Army's Corps of Topographic Engineers. They included a variety of scientists, including geologists, zoologists, and botanists. They brought back considerable information about the West. A complete evaluation of the significance of all these expeditions and other military travel is beyond the scope of this study. It would require a large theme study, done within the guidelines of the National Register program, in which a comparative study would be conducted to determine the relative significance of the individual trips.

The carrying of dispatches, such as was done by Kit Carson along the Old Spanish Trail, was a routine military activity. Indeed, the trip was not hurried, and upon arriving in Taos, Carson spent a few days with his family before continuing on (Hafen and Hafen 1982:337). In 1846, he carried dispatches from California east along the Gila Route in Arizona, and he followed the same route again in early 1847 (Hafen and Hafen 1982:314). Other mountain men engaged in similar activity. Jim Beckwourth, for example, carried dispatches for the military between Santa Fe and Fort Leavenworth along the Santa Fe Trail (Wilson 1972:109-112). Trips such as Colonel Loring's were, in the context of the day, also relatively routine travel for military units. Having finished their assignment in Utah, they were simply traveling to Fort Union, as ordered.

Carleton's campaign against the Paiute was not unlike numerous other military campaigns against various American Indian tribes. Tragically, these campaigns were all too common. Overall, "there was little long-term effect" of Carleton's campaign (Chenoweth 1999:30-31). Carleton's campaign can be compared to the 1849 expedition under Colonel John M. Washington as a punitive expedition against the Navajo who were raiding outlying New Mexican settlements, which had much more devastating consequences. The troops invaded the stronghold of the Navajo at Canyon de Chelly, and soundly defeated the Indians (Goetzmann 1966:275). Carleton's efforts can also be compared to the 1864 expedition against the Navajo led by Kit Carson, during which the tribe's crops were burned, their livestock killed, and they were rounded up and forcibly removed and held in captivity in eastern New Mexico after the infamous Long Walk (Trafzer 1982).

It would not appear warranted to ascribe national significance to the entire Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California on the basis of the military use of the trail. There would seem to be no compelling reason to ascribe to the entire Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California the broad significance of military travel in the West, or the significance of an entire single expedition when it only used parts of the Old Spanish Trail as a part of longer trips. The trail was not a strategic military route. The

significance of a particular expedition route belongs to the entire route actually used by that expedition, not to the entirety of each trail the expedition may have used to a limited degree.

SIGNIFICANT PERSONS

In evaluating the Old Spanish Trail under National Historic Landmark Criterion 2, it is appropriate to look at the two best known travelers on the Old Spanish Trail: John C. Frémont and Kit Carson.

The significance of Frémont's explorations is discussed briefly above, and although a complete study of his life and expeditions would be required, it is likely that he was "exceptionally significant within" the context of military expeditions of the West. He rose to prominence based on his travels, and was popularly known as "The Pathfinder." His travels had significant impact on public views of the West, and thereby helped spur westward expansion. Claims relating to his expeditions' scientific and geographic accomplishments may not have been as significant (Goetzmann 1979:101-108). Frémont later became a candidate for the Presidency, although he lost.

As mentioned, a more detailed study of Frémont's significance and conclusions related to it is beyond the scope of this study. His 1843-1844 expedition might be considered the route that best represents his historic contributions. However, as noted above, the significance of that trip should be ascribed to the entire journey, which only overlapped segments of the Old Spanish Trail on its western half, and can not be attributed to the entire Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California. The period of significance for this expedition would be limited to 1843-1844.

In his life, Kit Carson traveled many western trails. He became one of the best known of the mountain men, and came to New Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail in 1826. He traveled to California with Ewing Young through Arizona in 1829-1830; accompanied Frémont in 1843-1844, which included travel on parts of the Old Spanish Trail, and traveled into the country of the Yellowstone, Bighorn, Missouri, and Big Snake rivers; and much more. As mentioned, he carried military dispatches on the Old Spanish Trail and through Arizona on the Gila Route during the Mexican-American War. He joined the army during the Civil War and fought at the battle of Valverde (Vestal 1928). In 1863, Carson led the campaign against the Navajo, which ultimately led to the removal of the Navajo on the Long Walk (Trafzer 1982).

Carson achieved national prominence for the totality of his many roles in the West as a trapper, guide, soldier, and more. Kit Carson may be considered a nationally significant individual (his house in Taos is a National Historic Landmark), but this does not mean that all the trails he followed qualify as National Historic Trails. Nor does it mean that any particular trail he followed ought to be a National Historic Trail. A full study of Carson's travels would be required and a determination made as to whether his use of any particular trail(s) led to "far reaching impacts on broad patterns of American culture," as is required in the National Trails System Act, followed by a determination as to which trail, if any, best exemplified this.

A cursory analysis would suggest, for example, that Carson's campaign against the Navajo was more significant than his trips on the Old Spanish Trail. This campaign led to the removal of the Navajo from their homelands on the Long Walk. In 1868, after originally proposing to move the Navajo to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma, the U.S. Government signed a treaty allowing them to return to their homelands. This was an unusual reversal of normal federal Indian policy of the time.

GENERIC TRAIL

It has been suggested that the Old Spanish Trail is nationally significant because of the variety of uses that occurred along it, or pieces of it. Many western trails witnessed a multitude of uses. The National Historic Landmark criteria focus on determining national significance, occurring in a defined period of time, within a prescribed historical theme. While a historic site, or trail, could be significant under more than one theme, historic events that do not fit within the particular theme being evaluated do not contribute to significance under that theme. As mentioned earlier, some individual uses and related trail resources would appear to meet National Register of Historic Places criteria for state-level significance.

Figure 3: Blue Diamond Spring, Nevada.

RESOURCES

Resources described below are in or near the corridors of the Old Spanish Trail. In some cases (for example, Indian pueblos and natural landmarks), sites may be listed both here and in Appendix E: "Existing Public Use Sites."

Site descriptions are organized by state and by route segment, generally moving from east (Santa Fe) to west (Los Angeles). *Sites that are directly associated with the trail are indicated by an asterisk (*). Not all these sites would necessarily qualify for inclusion in national historic trails programs.* Where known, state archeological site numbers are included. Other historic sites are listed below, to provide background for the reader and for consideration in the "Environmental Consequences" section. Also note that historic spellings for certain terms may differ—for example, "Mojave" vs. "Mohave," and "Paiute" vs. "Piute."

ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESOURCES

New Mexico

Southern (Armijo) Route. Antonio Armijo left the village of Abiquiú on November 6, 1829, en route to California. Abiquiú * was built around 1744 on the former site of a Tewa pueblo on the banks of the Chama River. During the 1700s and early 1800s, this outlying settlement was an important locality from which Spanish and Mexican operations were conducted. Abiquiú served as a Spanish military garrison post and "a collecting point for Indian slaves and captives." Because of its location near Indian territory, "many important conferences and treaty negotiations ... were held here" (Marsh 1982:42-43). It was from Abiquiú that the Domínguez-Escalante expedition left on August 1, 1776.

Abiquiú's settlers were a mixture of Spaniards and *genízaros* (Hispanicized Indians), who quickly made the area into an important trading center and jumping-off point for the Old Spanish Trail. The comingled Armijo Route and main Old Spanish Trail route divide just east of Abiquiú Reservoir (Madsen 1998a).

Northern Route—(including the North Branch). The Old Spanish Trail began in Santa Fe and continued northward through a number of historic Hispanic and Indian communities, many of which supplied the trade items for the mule trains. La Villa Real de la Santa Fé was established as the capital of New Mexico in 1610. Set on the ruins of an abandoned Tanoan Indian village, Santa Fe was laid out around a *palacio*, or Palace of the Governors, which served as a seat of government, and, along with the plaza, is a National Historic Landmark.

The Tewa Pueblo of Nambé was one of the first to receive a mission in New Mexico; today, only a few of the early buildings remain. While the village of Pojoaque remains, the original Pojoaque Pueblo was abandoned after the Pueblo Revolt, and only an archeological site marks the original location. The present village of San Ildefonso (listed on the National Register of Historic Places) was settled around 1600, and was a major participant in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Santa Clara Pueblo, also a National Register property about 10 miles north of San Ildefonso, was Fray Escalante's first stop en route to southern Colorado and Utah.

The Hispanic community of Chimayo, famous for its weaving, was founded on the site of an old Tewa pueblo. Chimayo's Santuario de Nuestro Señor de Esquipulas, noted for its reported curative powers, was built between 1813 and 1816, and is now a National Historic Landmark (NHL) (Fugate and Fugate 1989:259-260).

Taos Pueblo, in existence in 1540 when Coronado entered the region, was the scene of an annual Indian trade fair. Taos, now a National Historic Landmark and World Heritage Site, served as the headquarters for fur trappers after about 1820, and figured prominently in the Old Spanish Trail traffic. The Church of St. Francis of Assísi was built in Ranchos de Taos in the 1770s as a mission for the conversion of Taos Indians (Fugate and Fugate 1989:224). The church is also a National Historic Landmark. The early eighteenth- century village of Talpa (LA3931) is five miles west of Taos, near the mouth of the Río Chiquito, and was settled as part of the occupation of the Ranchos de Taos (Fugate and Fugate 1989:251).

Kit Carson's home in Taos* (LA3929) was built in 1825 and purchased by Carson in 1843. Carson was among the most renowned of the mountain men/trappers-turned-trail-guides during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The home is a National Historic Landmark.

Santa Cruz was the second villa established in Mexico, its populace drawn from immigrant families from Zacatecas. The Old Spanish Mission, "a massive cruciform church built in 1733," containing religious art of the Spanish colonial period, dominates the plaza in Santa Cruz (Fugate and Fugate 1989:229). The town of Tesuque dates from 1740, and was named for the nearby Tewa pueblo founded sometime around A.D. 1300. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 began at Tesuque Pueblo (now on the National Register). Nambé Pueblo, centrally located on the Nambé Indian Reservation, was one of the first missions in New Mexico. Ruins and archeological remains attest to the long history of this National Register site. According to the Crampton and Madsen maps (n.d.), Macomb's camp number 2 was at San Juan Pueblo* on the San Juan Indian Reservation. George Ruxton traveled the Old Spanish Trail in 1847-1848 and described San Juan Pueblo, as well as Taos and its distilleries. The western fork of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail veered off to the northeast at San Juan Pueblo, now a National Register property.

The farming community of Questa*(LA5200) (originally called San Antonio del Río Colorado) dates to around 1829, and was an important stopping place on the trail. Several early 1800s sites remain in Arroyo Hondo, including Penitente moradas and Simon Turley's mill and distillery. Simon Turley established a ranch in 1830, built up herds of cattle and sheep, and planted corn and wheat. Turley's water-powered gristmill produced flour and cornmeal, the looms and spinning wheels produced woolen goods, and the distillery produced "Taos Lightning." These products were used in New Mexico trade on the Old Spanish Trail.

The approximate location of old Fort Lowell lies southeast of El Vado State Park in Río Chama Recreation Area. This fort was on the route followed by Macomb (Crampton and Madsen, n.d.).

At the Abiquiú crossing of the Río Grande, the Workman-Rowland party purchased 150 sheep for meat on the journey to California. They also hired Mexican servants to help with odd jobs (Hafen and Hafen 1982:209). Rancho Abiquiú and the fallen adobe walls of the mid-eighteenth-century Santa Rosa de Lima Chapel lies on the trail east of present-day Abiquiú. The Abiquiú Mesa Grid Gardens and the chapel are listed on the National Register.

An intact visible segment of the Old Spanish Trail's main route* lies just east of the Abiquiú Reservoir in the general vicinity of the Domínguez-Escalante commemorative marker (Madsen 1998a). The

landmark known as *Ojo de Navajo, mentioned by Macomb in 1859, was identified near Macomb's Camp number 6.

La Puerta Grande, an important landmark, provided a relatively level pathway between the large north-south trending mesas formerly known as Los Santísima Trinidad. La Puerta Grande connected what is now El Vado Reservoir on the east with Stinking Lake (formerly Lago Hediondo) on the west (Crampton and Madsen 1994:19-20). The cartographer for the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, Bernardo y Pacheco, documented El Vado (the ford of the Río Chama). Another landmark, Cerro del Pedernal (Abiquiú Peak)*, was sketched by the Macomb expedition in 1859 (Crampton and Madsen 1994:18).

Colorado

Armijo (Southern) Route. No sites or trail traces have been documented along the Armijo Route in southwestern Colorado.

Northern Route—North Branch. Fort Massachusetts was built in 1852 near the Old Spanish Trail to protect roads and settlers of the San Luis Valley from Indian attacks (1851). The fort was visited and described by travelers such as Heap and Gunnison, but was abandoned not long after its construction due to extremely marshy conditions. It was replaced by Fort Garland, now a National Register property (Kessler 1998:327).

A short segment of the East Fork of the North Branch* of the Old Spanish Trail can be seen north of the town of Blanca in the San Luis Valley. While the two-track ruts are difficult to distinguish on the ground, they are clearly visible from the air (Kessler 1998b). This segment is thought to have connected with Fort Massachusetts (5CT30).

The North Branch through the San Luis Valley developed from Indian trails, and was later used by explorers, trappers, and travelers. Between 1694 and 1825, at least five individuals or groups are known to have traversed parts of the San Luis Valley from what is now New Mexico over the Taos Trail or Trappers' Road, a route that later became the Old Spanish Trail, North Branch. As listed by Kessler (1998a:5), these groups are: don Diego de Vargas (1694), Roque Madrid (1705), Juan Bautista de Anza (1779), Zebulon Pike (1807), and Jacob Fowler (1822). In 1822, Fowler reported seeing at

> the lower Eand of this large vally [San Luis Valley] ... to the River Delnort about 6 miles to our Right as We Have been going down that River ... a Small Spanish vilege but abandoned by the Inhabetance for feer of the Indeans ... (1822, quoted in Kessler 1998a:92).

George Ruxton traveled along the North Branch through the San Luis Valley in the dead of winter, December 1847. He described campsites* near La Culebra and El Valleeito left by a Mormon group who had preceded him. A campsite at the foot of Mosca Pass* (5AL303) near the Great Sand Dunes, was used by at least three American explorers over a period of 46 years—Zebulon Pike (1807), John Frémont (1848), and John Gunnison (1853). Hafen and Hafen (1982:332, fn12) and Kessler (1998a:140) both suggest that George D. Brewerton (accompanying Kit Carson) traveled from Los Angeles to Santa Fe in 1848 by means of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail.

The Guadalupe (Conejos) Land Grant was established in 1833. Colonization was attempted by the family grantees of northern New Mexico in 1833 and 1842-1843 along the western fork of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. Colonization failed because of Indian attacks until the late 1840s or early 1850s, when settlers from Abiquiú and El Rito came to settle the area. Guadalupe Plaza

(5CN490), along the Conejos River near Conejos, marks this early settlement. The La Valle townsite (5CT128, "San Francisco," or Rito de los Indios) near San Luis was an 1846 Indian settlement.

In the vicinity of Del Norte, deep ruts etched into bedrock * mark the former route of wagon travel, which probably followed much the same route as earlier mule trains may have traveled on the western fork of the North Branch. (The "Limekiln Wagon Tracks" have been documented as archeological site 5RN539.1.) A large boulder bearing the inscription "1858" was found in this vicinity, but nothing is known of those who left this inscription behind. Local informants suggest it is possible that Euro-American travel on the western fork of the North Branch dates to as early as 1779, when Juan Bautista de Anza passed through en route to subdue the Utes. Research suggests this trail probably crossed the Río Grande near Del Norte in an area visible on aerial photographs. One of Frémont's campsites* has been recorded as site 5RN393, in the vicinity of Del Norte. Farther north, near La Garita, sections of the route* are again visible as faint two-track depressions. Gwinn Harris Heap described this segment of the trail in 1853:

> We proceeded immediately on our journey, and coasting up the left bank of the Del Norte [Río Grande] about ten miles, left it where it made a bend to the westward, directing our course north by west to the Sahwatch [Saguache] valley .... The plain was as level as the sea to the foot of the mountains, which inclose San Luis valley .... In fourteen miles from the point where we left the river [Río Grande], we crossed a fine brook of clear and cool water--the Río de la Garita. In ten miles from the Río Garita, we came to an abundant spring, surrounded by good grass .... at the spring we found a trail leading to the Sahwatch valley. The valley of San Luis, to the commencement of the Sahwatch, is singularly level ... and has two entrances from that of San Luis. The one which we selected ... [was] called ... El Rincon del Sahwatch (the corner of the Sahwatch) ... (Heap 1853, quoted in Kessler 1998a:170-171). (Heap's account was also included with Colorado state site form 5RN539.1; the above quote uses a combined version of text from both the site form and Ron Kessler's publication.)

A number of the historic communities in the valley, such as Del Norte (La Loma del Norte), Carnerio, Conejos (settled around 1858), and El Carnero or La Garita (Torres trading post at La Garita, 1858, site 5SH1032), grew up around the camping areas established during operation of the Old Spanish Trail. Near La Garita is Capilla de San Juan Bautista (5SH125), a site listed on the National Register. This church is also known as La Inglesia de La Garita and St. John's church, and was built in the 1870s on the remains of the earlier settlement, which is marked by adobe ruins and a small cemetery.

Site 5SH1301 has been documented as the probable location of John Charles Frémont's Groundhog Creek Camp of the 1848-1849 expedition. The site consists of 11 stumps, crudely hewn away with an axe some distance above the ground. A nearby log rectangle may have been the remains of a crude structure built by Frémont's men for emergency shelter, as mentioned in an expedition diary. Other remains of Frémont's camps in this area include a crudely made sled, mule skeletal materials, evidence of hearths, and the date 1848 inscribed on a rock outcrop. Frémont was seeking a central all-weather railroad route to the Pacific when the party became trapped by blizzards in the La Garita Mountains, suffering the loss of 11 men, 100 mules, and most of their supplies. Rescued by one of the Canadian French mountain men, the survivors are thought to have returned to Taos following the North Branch Route east from the La Garita area, across the San Luis Valley to the Sangre de Cristo Range, and then south to New Mexico along the North Branch.

In 1837, William Pope, Isaac Slover, and William Wolfskill (Hafen and Hafen 1982:181-182, 198) traveled the North Branch. George Frederick Ruxton noted the wind and cold and described landmarks on his 1847 journey through the San Luis Valley en route to Pueblo by means of the Trapper's Road (Ruxton quoted in Kessler 1998a:117). Other travelers who went through the San Luis Valley and described its terrain and landmarks include: Heap and Beale (1853); John Williams Gunnison and Jacob Heinrich

Scheil (1853); Frémont (1844); and Brewerton and Kit Carson (1848) (Kessler 1998a:139-140, 175, 213-214, 219; Hafen and Hafen 1982:336 fn12).

The Southern Ute Indian Agency near Conejos (5CN488) was built around 1859, and played an important role in initial attempts to remove the Utes from the San Luis Valley. The agency was moved to the Saguache area to fulfill the Ute Treaty of 1868 (5SH1021).

Traces of the route* are visible on a hillside in the Cochetopa vicinity. The word "Cochetopa" means "Buffalo Crossing" or "Buffalo Pass," a term used by Indian groups who used the route to move between the San Luis and Gunnison valleys. Cochetopa Pass* (also known as "Marcy's Crossing") was an important landmark along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. The historic pass, recorded as Colorado site 5SH1025, was surveyed by Gunnison and Frémont, and crossed by Marcy, Loring, Marcus Whitman, and other early explorers. Frémont crossed the pass following Gunnison's wagon tracks (Kessler 1998a:263).

Over time, segments of the Old Spanish Trail between the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River and the Uncompaghre River became known as the Old Salt Lake Road*. In Colorado, this route was used to transport livestock, supplies, and military personnel, particularly between Fort Garland and the Ute Indian Agency. In his account of his May 1853 journey, Heap also provided excellent descriptions of the area near La Garita, the Saguache Valley, and Cochetopa Pass.

The Ute Memorial Site, south of Montrose, occupies part of the ranch of the Ute leader Chief Ouray. The onsite museum commemorating the long history of the Ute Indians is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The Old Spanish Trail forded the Uncompahgre River just south of Olathe. Other river fords whose general location is known include the Uncompahgre River crossing south of Delta, and the crossing of the Gunnison River just to the west of Delta. Fort Roubideau (Robidoux) was a trading post belonging to the brothers Robidoux; it was built in 1828, and used until it was burned in 1844. This fort was a few miles west of the town of Delta on the Gunnison River. The reconstructed fort, now known as Fort Uncompahgre, is located in Delta. By the late 1820s, Antoine Robidoux was making regular pack trips between St. Louis and Fort Uncompahgre, following what would become the North Branch, between the crossing of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and the vicinity of present-day Delta, Colorado. Fort Uncompahgre*, designated sites 5DT606 and 5DT746, is in the vicinity of the Roubidoux Wildlife Refuge, but flooding and farming are thought to have destroyed the physical remains. Gwinn Harris Heap's journal of the Beale expedition in 1853 notes the presence of old "Fort Roubideau" and other landmarks in the vicinity of the present-day communities of Delta, Gunnison, and Grand Junction (Heap quoted in Kessler 1998a:180, et seq.)

A number of rock cairns are along the route between Delta and Grand Junction. While sheepherders or prehistoric peoples may have placed them, some researchers suggest that these cairns could have been placed to guide travelers along the Old Spanish Trail. Numerous trappers and traders later used this section of trail between Delta and Grand Junction.

Travelers include missionary Marcus Whitman, who crossed the Colorado River near present-day Grand Junction in 1842 en route from Oregon to Washington, D.C., by way of Fort Uncompahgre. Whitman used segments of the Old Spanish Trail. Site 5ME.775* was also known as the Whitman, Pattie, and Gunnison trail. About 1977, the Bureau of Land Management developed a map of the Whitman Route, but the route was not documented on the ground. The Old Spanish Trail near Grand

Junction* was mapped by the Gunnison expedition of 1853; on September 19 of that year they camped at the Colorado River crossing. This crossing and the adjacent trail segments have been designated Colorado site 5ME775.1*. A number of trappers and travelers left the Old Spanish Trail at its intersection with the Kannah Creek drainage using the Kannah Creek Trail (5ME1187), which ran west of Grand Junction, northward along Salt Creek.

Multiple, parallel wagon ruts and trail traces* on and near "Fool's Hill" (about halfway between Delta and Grand Junction) have been documented as the Old Spanish Trail/Salt Lake Wagon Road (sites 5DT854, 5DT854.1, 5DT854.2, and 5ME775.1). According to Steven Mehls (1982:9), Pedro Mora, Gregorio Sandoval, and Andres Muñiz traveled this portion of the trail in the eighteenth century. These Spanish traders followed the Río Grande north from Santa Fe to the vicinity of the present-day town of Alamosa, and traveled north into the Saguache area and over Cochetopa Pass to the Gunnison River. From there they followed the Gunnison River to the present site of Grand Junction. The route was later traveled by a number of trappers and traders, was the main access route to Fort Uncompahgre, and eventually became the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail.

According to local informants, a campsite thought to date to the Old Spanish Trail period is in the vicinity of Kannah Creek, an area where Ute trails intersected the Old Spanish Trail. Another temporary, repeatedly used camp (5DT853) was associated with the Salt Lake Wagon Road (5DT854.1) which, in turn, followed the Old Spanish Trail through this area.

Some authors (such as Chenoweth 1998) have identified trail remnants along the Gunnison River south of Grand Junction*. Chenoweth also has identified the Whitewater Hill Road*, southeast of Grand Junction, as a remnant of the Old Salt Lake Wagon Road. The North Branch left Colorado west of Grand Junction.

Northern Route (through Durango). A number of campsites related to the Old Spanish Trail have been identified along the San Juan and Los Pinos rivers by researchers Sánchez and Erickson (1998b) and Crampton and Madsen (n.d.). However, no archeological remains related to these sites have, as yet, been identified. Domínguez and Escalante are known to have crossed the Animas River near Durango on August 8-9, 1776. The probable location of the crossing has been designated site 5LP1971, and marked with a plaque.

Only a few traces remain of original single-track mule trails, because most of the routes were later used by wagon traffic, and during the twentieth century, off-road-vehicle traffic has further obscured original trails. A short section of the mule trail (see Figure 1) has been identified by researchers Crampton and Madsen (1994) in the Durango vicinity.* The Animas River ford used by Old Spanish Trail travelers is also thought to be in this area*.

Remains of an old stage station have been identified near Yellowjacket Spring in Montezuma County. Nearby Yellowjacket Pueblo Ruins is also situated on the Old Spanish Trail and was first documented by Dr. J. S. Newberry of the Macomb expedition in 1859 (Crampton and Madsen 1994:42). This ruin, consisting of a group of associated prehistoric Mesa Verde culture masonry rubble mounds and features, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

As the route led north and west into Dolores County, little fresh water was available for travelers and their livestock, so there had to be more reliance on springs. Travelers using the various wagon roads that replicated or paralleled the Old Spanish Trail between Yellow Jacket and Cahone (the 1884 Utah Road; the 1913 Utah Road; the 1916 Old Utah Road; the 1913 Monticello-to-Dolores Road) depended upon the

springs at Cross Canyon for water. A number of these travelers inscribed their names on the canyon walls at Cross Canyon.

The Old Spanish Trail entered Cross Canyon by way of Alkali Canyon*, where several short segments of the trail are still visible. On one segment, dry-laid cobbles were used along the lower side of the single track to improve and level the trail surface for mule traffic, and to check erosion. Near Irwin Spring* in Dolores County, some of the original trail is still visible, although some sections appear to have had later usage as a two-track road (Madsen 1998a).

Utah

Armijo (Southern) Route. Armijo followed the Domínguez-Escalante Route in some areas of New Mexico and Utah, and this route has been mapped and interpretive signs erected at key points (Miller 1976). Several authors (Olsen 1965:12, Sánchez 1999b) think it likely that Armijo stopped at Pipe Spring*, and Domínguez and Escalante are known to have camped southwest of the spring.

Domínguez and Escalante crossed the Colorado River at El Vado de los Padres* (the Crossing of the Fathers), as did Armijo. Armijo's men improved the steps carved into the canyon wall by Domínguez and Escalante some half a century earlier. The construction of Glen Canyon dam, begun in 1956, flooded El Vado de los Padres under Lake Powell, which today forms part of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.

Northern Route (including the North Branch). Because of its steady flow of good water, Piute Springs* ("Ute" Spring in far eastern Utah) was an important stopping place on the Old Spanish Trail, and trail traces are still visible in the vicinity (Crampton and Madsen 1994:45). Identifiable landmarks along this section of the route include Ojo Verde*, Hatch Rock*, Summit Point*, South Canyon*, and Canyon Pintado*, and a number of large, red, wind-shaped sandstone promontories (Casa Colorado, Red Rock, and Looking Glass Rock)*. Several researchers (Crampton and Madsen 1994:47; Pierson 1998:6) relocated Las Tinajas*, or water tanks (Choteau/Pratt's "tewaja" and Macomb's La Tenejal), which were used by Old Spanish Trail travelers. The tanks are situated in the base of the sandstone drainages south of Casa Colorado, and segments of trail are visible near Casa Colorado Wash*. Pierson (1998:6) identified one of the three crossings of Mule Shoe Wash* as the area where the trail crossed after heading north from Looking Glass Rock. Near Looking Glass Rock, several segments of the dugout wagon road have been documented as Utah site 42Sa11566. The roadbed is cut into the sandstone bedrock on its uphill side and is built up with dry-laid sandstone masonry on the downslope side.

Although the general location has been identified, no archeological remains of the Old Spanish Trail Colorado River Crossing near Moab have been documented. In a canyon a few miles north of the trail and the Colorado River, an inscription was carved into the sandstone cliffs. The inscription reads: "Antoine Robidoux passe ici le 13 Novembre 1837 pouir etablire maison traitte a la Rv. vert ou wi(y)te" ("Antoine Robidoux passed here November 13, 1837, to establish a house or trade/trading post at the Green River or Winte"). This site (42Gr2302) is listed on the National Register.

Around 30 miles northwest of Moab is a long segment of wagon road consisting of a linear path of leveled ground with two low soil berms along both margins. This trail segment has been documented as site 42Gr2630*.

In the San Rafael area, there are ruts across San Rafael Swell. Some of these two-track ruts have been documented as archeological site 42Em1485*. A 3-mile section of the Castle Dale-Green River Wagon

Road* is listed on the National Register as part of the Old Spanish Trail. Rust stains, cuts, fills, and wagon-wheel ruts etched into the sandstone are visible in many areas.

Archeological site 42Sv2245* is a gravel road across the southern Castle Valley. This road followed the course of the Gunnison Route and Old Spanish Trail as the routes converged toward Ivie Creek and Salina Canyon. The Ivie Creek Canyon pictographs* were described by Gunnison in 1853, and again in 1855 by the Huntington expedition (a member of this expedition, I. M. Behunin, also inscribed his name on the canyon walls (Crampton and Madsen 1994:63)). Early county surveys identify this road as Gunnison's Route*, and Gunnison identifies the route as the Old Spanish Trail.

Crampton and Madsen documented other segments of trail* east of Castle Dale in Emery County; on Buckhorn Flat; in Furniture Draw; on Walker Flat; at Iron Springs Camp; and at Big Hole (Madsen 1998). Several trail remnants are visible along Um Creek and near the spring east of Koosharem*.

Several names reportedly were carved in the walls of Colorado Wash ¼ mile from the trail near Moore, Utah. These inscriptions include crosses and the names "M[auricio] Arze 1812[?], J. W. Gunnison, J. Frémont 1844" (Crampton Collection, Box 219). Unidentified travelers in 1831 (Kelly 1950:22) left another set of inscriptions (initials) in a canyon near Paragonah*.

Kane Springs*, another important stopping place on the route, is at the base of a large sandstone promontory designated "St. Louis Rock" by a group of Mormon travelers in 1855. A section of the Old Spanish Trail and a dugway are preserved in this vicinity. (The dugway was constructed for wagon travel along the route in 1879.) The trail ran through what is known today as "Spanish Valley," a name appearing in the Hayden survey maps of 1877. Later wagon roads followed the Old Spanish Trail in this area, and have been documented as site 42Sa11566.11*.

Extant portions of the route in Washington County have been documented (42Ws2528)* in the vicinity of Mountain Meadow, including segments near the crossing of Dan Sill Creek. The route ran through the center of the Hamblin townsite. The remnants are eligible for the National Register because of their association with themes of Utah transportation, as well as with Hamblin and the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Mountain Meadow* was a favored campsite for caravans, and was mentioned in traveler's diaries, including those of Frémont, Brewerton, and Pratt (Madsen 1998a). Orville Pratt described the area saying "There is fine & tender grass enough growing on this Vegas to fatten a thousand head of horses or cattle" (Crampton and Madsen 1994:73). The Hamblin Ranch (1855-1870) was also on the route between Holt Canyon and Mountain Meadows. According to the archeological site form (42Ws1585)*, this section of the Old Spanish Trail is in "pristine condition." The entire site (including the trail segment) is eligible for the National Register.

At Camp Spring, near Shivwitz, numerous travelers carved their initials on the nearby rocks. While these inscriptions generally post-date the major use of the Old Spanish Trail, they are in an area known to have been used by both Frémont and Wheeler (Madsen 1998).

Near Newcastle, Utah, a sign marking the "Site of Blacksmith Shop on the Old Spanish Trail 1800-1850" was erected by townspeople in 1950. Although the location lies on the trail route, no archeological evidence was found to indicate the presence of a blacksmith shop in this area (Naylor 1998). A "pioneer register" on rocks near Camp Spring documents military personnel and other travelers during the early 1860s.

Arizona

Armijo Route. See the "Utah" section above, for the "Crossing of the Fathers." According to Altschul and Fairley (1989:158), Armijo's party followed the Domínguez-Escalante route to the Fredonia vicinity where they proceeded west along the base of the Vermilion Cliffs, camped at Agua de la Vieja (thought to be present-day Pipe Springs*), and later at Stinking Water (La Verkin Springs*). The Armijo Route joins the Northern Route near the Nevada/Arizona/Utah border. The Pipe Spring-Fredonia Road (documented as a historic site) follows the Armijo Route*. Pipe Springs is also listed on the Arizona state site list*. Navajo National Monument lies adjacent to the route, and is listed on the National Register.

Mojave Road. This route was a variant of the Old Spanish Trail. Segments of the Mojave Road have been documented on the ground. (The Mojave Road of 1859 from Fort Mohave to Drum Barracks (Los Angeles) by way of Camp Cady has been designated as California Historical Landmark 963. Also known as the Old Government Road in California, the route is usually called Beale's Road in Arizona.) *Fort Mojave was built at "Beale's Crossing" in 1859 for the protection of immigrants. This fort was on or near the Mojave Road on the Arizona side of the Colorado River. John Brown began operation of the first ferry across the Colorado River here in 1862.

Crampton and Madsen (1994:75) identified a segment of the Old Spanish Trail in Mojave County. This trail trace descends to the Virgin River near Beaver Dam*. Henry W. Bigler, a member of the 1849 Hunt wagon train, carved his initials in the White Cliffs near the head of Beaver Dam Creek* (Hafen and Hafen 1982:140, 151). Another segment of the Old Spanish Trail* was identified by these authors in 1979 just above the Big Bend of the Virgin River (Madsen 1998).

The Mojave Indians occupied the Mojave Valley of the Colorado River (not to be confused with the Mojave River valley). The "Mojave villages" (situated in the vicinity of Fort Mojave, established in 1859) were visited by Garcés in 1776, Jed Smith in 1826 and 1827, and Whipple in 1854, as well as others. The villages were a sanctuary for the Mojave Indians during the revolt of 1813.

Nevada

Combined Northern and Armijo Routes. Virgin Hill*, en route to the top of Mormon Mesa*, was one of the steepest climbs on the trail route (Crampton and Madsen 1994:81-82). Segments of the route up to and across Mormon Mesa are clearly visible today, particularly along Half Way Wash* (Madsen 1998). Remnants of the route* are also present on the Moapa River Indian Reservation; in the Virgin, Moapa, and Dry Lake valleys, near Nellis Air Force Base; and in and near Las Vegas. They have been documented as archeological sites by the State of Nevada (for example, 26CK3848). Myhrer, et al. 1990:54-92) have mapped much of the route through Nevada. Their book also describes the condition of extant route segments. Roughly 15 percent of the route between Las Vegas and California was in somewhat pristine shape in 1990. Several of these trail segments have been determined eligible for the National Register.

Pictographs (thought to have been created by Native Americans) on the Stuart Ranch in the vicinity of the trail show horse-drawn carts, drivers and riders with broad-brimmed hats, and bighorn sheep and other native fauna (Madsen 1998a).

Sites in the Las Vegas area include trail segments (26CK3848)* associated with the Old Salt Lake Road, and Big Springs and the Mormon Fort. The Big Springs Archeological District* (Las Vegas, 26CK948 and 26CK949) is listed on the National Register, and includes archeological features and artifacts, structures, and springs. The site represents a long period of human use, both prehistorically and

historically, and from 1830 through 1848, it was visited by commercial Mexican trading caravans following the Old Spanish Trail.

After the Old Spanish Trail opened this area to travelers, Mormon settlers built a fort in the Big Springs drainage in 1855 to protect settlers and trail travelers. It was used until 1858. One of the original buildings and the site are preserved as the Old Las Vegas Mormon Fort State Historical Park. Extensive archeological research has uncovered remnants of the original 150-foot-long fort; both the spring and the fort are listed on the National Register (site 26CK1214).

Spring Mountain Ranch State Park* is also listed on the National Register because of its association with an "alternate" route of the Old Spanish Trail. Blue Diamond Springs (see Figure 3) (26CK2011)* (Cottonwood Spring), west of Las Vegas, was a well-known camping spot on the trail, and was identified by Frémont as having excellent grazing. Ruts* are present in this area (Myhrer, et al., 1990). Good water could also be obtained at Mountain Springs*, situated at the summit of the crossing of the Spring Mountains Range. A short distance inside the Nevada line, Stump Spring and the surrounding desert furnished sporadic water and feed for caravans. Stump Spring also was known as Escarbado, or Aqua Escarbada, a Spanish term meaning "to dig or scratch," implying that the water had to be obtained by digging (Crampton and Madsen 1994:95). Stump Spring has been modified since the 1830s and 1840s, but still provides water for livestock. Stump Spring is recorded as Old Spanish Trail site 26CK3848*, and segments of the trail are visible in the vicinity of the spring. Crampton and Madsen documented traces* of the trail on the northeast approach to the divide between the California Valley and the Pahrump Valley.

Mojave Road Variant of the Old Spanish Trail. According to historian Dennis Casebier, good examples of the mule trail, worn into solid rock, can be seen in Piute Wash*, west of Bullhead City.

California

Mojave Road. Piute Springs* lies just inside the California/Nevada border on the Mojave Road. The springs, with their numerous petroglyphs, were regular stopping places for travelers, including Garcés, Smith, Whipple, and Beale. One historic inscription reads: "STUART, 4TH INFT. MAY 16 1851[4?][7?]," and documents military use of this route. Piute Pass Archeological District is on the National Register.

Archeologists have documented segments of the Mojave Road* (CA-Sbr-4928-H) running west across Soda Lake to Soda Springs, and then following or paralleling the Armijo Route southwest into Afton Canyon, along the Mojave River. (Soda Springs is a landmark at the juncture of the Mojave Road and Armijo Route.) There are beautifully preserved traces of the trail in the Salt Springs area (Walker 1998).* Unfortunately, the reconstruction of California State Highway 127 obliterated some of the remains.

Marl Springs* was one of the most important water sources between the Mojave River and the Mojave Villages/Fort Mojave. Wnipple visited the springs in 1854 (California Department of Parks 1973).

Combined Northern and Armijo Routes. A large Paiute Indian winter village was located at Pahrump Springs.

At Emigrant Pass* in the Nopah Range (see Figure 4) are well-defined two-track ruts (south of the present highway) and a well-preserved mule trail trace (on the north side of the highway). This section of the trail was described by the Beale survey in 1853 (Madsen 1998b:5). Trails associated with mule trains* on the Old Spanish Trail are visible south of Tecopa, California (Walker 1998).

Numerous on-the-ground traces of Old Spanish Trail routes have been identified, including trail segments along California State Highway 127* and at the eastern base of the Avawatz Mountains (between Tecopa and Silurian Lake)*.

According to local informants, traces remain of both the mule trail and the two-track wagon road near Resting Spring (Godshall 1998).* Resting Spring is a verdant oasis situated in a badlands area at the south end of the Resting Spring Range. Water would also have been available at Tecopa Hot Springs, and along the Armagosa River. The Paiute village of Yaga* at Tecopa Hot Springs was visited by Armijo in January of 1830. From here Armijo turned south to follow the Amargosa River, a stream he named Río de los Payuches (River of the Paiutes)(Madsen 1998b:6). Frémont's 1844 expedition noted the confluence of China Ranch Creek and the Amargosa River*.

Situated at the south end of the Dumont Dunes, Armagosa Spring* was a crucial water source for travelers and their livestock. Nearby Salt Spring* contained a very high concentration of sodium chloride. In 1849, Addison Pratt discovered gold in the Salt Spring Hills, precipitating a short-lived gold rush at "Mormon Diggings." Heap reported the mining sites abandoned in 1853, but the area still shows evidence of the mid-1800s mining activity.

Bitter Spring* is situated within the Fort Irwin Military Reservation at the northeastern side of a geologic formation known today as "The Whale" for its distinctive shape. Bitter Spring was "the only surface water supply in an area nearly 70 miles square," and was a major stopping place for caravans (Madsen 1998b:9). Frémont labeled the waterhole "Agua de Tomaso;" others corrupted the name to "Agua de Tio Mesa." Rock cairns, rock structures, and traces of the redoubt built at Bitter Spring in the 1860s during the "Paiute War" are still visible today. The site is on the National Register.

Camp Cady (California Registered Historic Landmark #995) was built in 1860 to protect travelers along the route. The site lies 15 or so miles to the south of Bitter Spring, east of the trail. The location of Camp Cady can be determined, but flooding (Madsen 1998b:10) destroyed structural remains of the fort buildings. The grassy oasis at the Camp Cady site are thought to have been used as a water stop by Padre Francisco Garcés (1776), Jed Smith (1826), and John Frémont (1844).

The trail ran through Spanish Canyon (see photo on cover), a broad, flat, sandy wash separating two of the several large formations that make up Alvord Mountain. At the north end of the canyon, westbound travelers had to ascend a steep slope; at the apex of the slope the terrain was modified to allow easier passage into the canyon. Two-track ruts and mule trails* are visible in the canyon and south along the route; these trail traces are documented as CA-Sbr-6551, CA-Sbr-4272-H, and CA-Sbr-4411-H.

A single burial, dating to the 1870s, was found on a trail section east of Alvord Mountain. This suggests that an alternate, later route ran due south around the east side of Alvord Mountain and rejoined the main Old Spanish Trail in the vicinity of Manix Lake. The Spanish Canyon Route was eventually abandoned due to washouts (Mikkelsen and Hall 1990:66). Segments of the alternate route have been recorded as CA-Sbr-4411-H and CA-Sbr- 4272-H.

About four miles east of present-day Yermo and south of I-15, the Mojave Road, two variations of the Old Spanish Trail, the Armijo Route, and the Mormon Road converge to follow the Mojave River. This is the area known as "Fork of Roads"* (Madsen 1998b:10). The term "Fork of Roads" was used historically by the Wheeler expedition to describe the flat area near Yermo at the Mojave River where the Old Spanish Trail and the Mojave Trail (Road) joined (Crampton and Madsen 1994:110). In this

area, numerous one-and two-track trail traces dating to the Old Spanish Trail period have been documented archeologically as part of site CA-Sbr-4928/CA-Sbr-3033-H (Mojave Road), CA-Sbr-4272-H (Old Spanish Trail), or CA-Sbr-4411-H (Mormon Road)*.

In this area, a clay reef forced the water of the Mojave River to the surface, creating the Punta de Agua (point of water) (Madsen 1998b:10). Present-day wells are thought to mark the site of the caravan stop used during the 1829-1850 period*. Madsen (1998b:11) identifies seven different names that were used for the Mojave River: Río de los Martires (Garcés 1776); Las Animas, or Río de las Animas (Lt. Gabriel Moraga, 1819); Inconstant River (Jed Smith 1826); Arroyo de las Hayatas (Armijo 1830); Mohahve River (Frémont 1844); Amahabo Creek (B. Chateau 1848); and Mahave Creek (Pratt 1948).

Site records in the San Bernardino County Museum Archeological Center show segments of the route following along the center of the Mojave River bed or the west side of the river until reaching a landmark known as Point of Rocks*, close to Helendale, where the trail crossed to the east side of the river. Point of Rocks, a prominent bluff, served as a landmark for travelers. A pioneer supply station was established here during the 1850s or 1860s (Haenszel 1986:n.p.). The Helena Fault, which can be seen from the air, was followed by the trail because the fault line allowed water to come to the surface in an otherwise arid area (Walker 1998). (These landmarks are shown on Atlas Sheet No. 73 of the Wheeler survey (1883)).

A short distance out of Barstow, an area near the Mojave River is being set aside and dedicated to the county for a marker commemorating the Old Spanish Trail crossing of the Mojave River. The later wagon road is still visible in this area*. From this area, the route generally ran southwest along what is now Old Route 66 and the National Trails Highway.

Near Oro Grande, the routes postulated by different authors converge, and the conjoined trail crosses the river at the "upper" crossing, or as it came to be known later, "Lane's Crossing"*, after Captain A. G. Lane, who claimed the adjacent lands, and built a home and trading post in the area. Lane's Station, Spring Ranch, and Adelanto Springs are listed on the National Register. (The site may have been the historic Serrano or Vanyume Indian village known as Topipabit.) A. G. Lane raised hay for trade to travelers along the Old Spanish Trail, and, in an effort to protect his livestock, was one of the petitioners who urged keeping Indians away from the waterholes (Walker 1998). He established a store on the trail in 1861.

Just past present-day Victorville, Frémont encountered the stands of Joshua trees that mark the western limits of the Mojave Desert. It was there that Frémont's party connected with the Spanish Trail, running "directly north" (Madsen 1998b:11).

From Lane's Crossing, the trail ran southwest toward Cajon Summit and split into a maze of routes crossing the pass. Records at the San Bernardino Museum Archeological Records Center show a possible Old Spanish Trail route (CA-Sbr-4411) running northeast from the Lane's Crossing area, up the Bell Mountain Wash, and connecting with the main route east of Barstow. A short distance southwest of present-day Mountain View Acres, the road forked. As described by Lt. Beale in 1853, the road

> forks about ten miles from the river. The left fork, which we took, follows the Old Spanish Trail, whilst the other, which had been opened recently by the Mormons, makes a bend to avoid a rough portion of country. They both join again in the Cajon Pass (Heap, quoted in Beattie and Beattie 1939:333).

Two of the shortest, most direct, and probably most used routes led to San Bernardino by way of Crowder Canyon and Cajon Canyon (these two routes have been designated part of site CA-Sbr-

4272.)*. (Cajon Pass has been called "*El Cajon de los Mejicanos*", "the Cajon", and "*El Cajon de Muscupiabe*." Flooding during the 1930s washed away much of U.S. Route 66 and other early roads.) On the north side of Cajon Pass, wagon ruts originally identified by the Mojave Historical Society as part of the Old Spanish Trail have now been erased by off-road vehicle traffic (Walker 1998). Fragmentary traces of later wagon and automobile roads, such as John Brown's toll road and Old Route 66, are visible along certain areas of the canyon.

During the 1840s, Little Horsethief Canyon (situated east of and perpendicular to Crowder Canyon) was used as a hiding place for livestock stolen by Wakara and Pegleg Smith. Cattle were driven to the Wolfskill Ranch over another, unidentified route "through the brush" and did not pass through the toll road (St. John, n.d.:6).

In 1853, Gwinn Harris Heap described two of the entrances to Cajon Pass then in use—the Sanford Crossing and the Old Spanish Trail. The Spanish Trail route was "favored by pack trains and horsemen because of its shorter distance, while the West Cajon crossing was used by wagons" (Beattie and Beattie 1939:333).

A marker at the junction of Crowder and Cajon canyons commemorates the 500 Mormon pioneers who used the Mormon Road. In 1849, the Mormon pioneers came up the Old Spanish Trail following the pack trail. In the east Cajon Narrows, they were forced to dismantle their wagons, load the contents onto pack animals, and drag the wagon bodies downhill through Crowder (Coyote) Canyon* on poles. The Mormon wagon route known as the Sanford Cutoff came over Baldy Mesa Ridge and West Cajon Fork. This route was developed by William T. B. Sanford, and was used from 1852 until completion of the John Brown toll road in 1861. (This route has been designated California State Historic Landmark 977.) John Brown's toll road* was laid out on the "most direct line, that of the Spanish Trail through the East Cajón" (Beattie and Beattie 1939:337). Another wagon road a mile farther west was built in 1855 to accommodate additional freight wagons from Salt Lake City.

West of today's Interstate I-15 is the wagon road originally known as the San Bernardino to Salt Lake Road of 1855-1856 (the Sanford Pass Route). This alternate route led from the Mormon Rocks area up and over Cajon Pass to rejoin the main road near Victorville. It was considered the easiest wagon route down into the San Bernardino Valley.

On the west side of Cajon Pass, the Old Spanish Trail descended the narrow canyon by means of the route taken by present-day I-15. Mormons who trailed over Cajon Pass in 1851 camped for several months near the lower end of the pass at the site of the present Sycamore Grove while negotiating the purchase of San Bernardino. Fray José María Zalvidea first documented the Serrano *ranchería* of Muscopiabit, one of a series of area Indian camps, in 1806.

From the Cajon Pass area, the original route headed off west-southwest to reach present-day Cucamonga, and thence to El Monte, San Gabriel, and finally, Los Angeles. Today, the few remaining Old Spanish Trail landmarks* include the San Gabriel and San Bernardino mountains, the De Siena Springs site (site of the Vincente Lugo adobe on the San Bernardino Rancho), Mission Drive and Mission Road, Mission San Gabriel, the Agua Mansa cemetery, and the ruins of the old San Salvador Church. Politana was a buffer settlement of New Mexicans established to curtail Indian raids on livestock. From 1833 to 1848, this settlement was the rendezvous and rest stop for trading caravans. It was named after Polito, or Hipolito, who was instrumental in bringing the colonists from New Mexico. The colonists moved from this, the Lugo Rancho, to the Jurupa Rancho (Agua Mansa) in 1845. Agua Mansa commemorates Don Juan Bandini's gift of part of his Jurupa Rancho to the colonists. The

community of Agua Mansa was destroyed in an 1862 flood, but the cemetery and archeological remains of the church remain (California Historic Landmark 121). La Placita de Trujillo was part of the same settlement, but was situated across the Santa Ana River.

San Bernardino Asistencia* was built about 1830 on the San Bernardino Rancho. During the 1840s, its buildings were used by José del Carmen Lugo as part of the Rancho Grant. Later it was sold to the Mormons.

The Los Angeles Plaza* (on the National Register) was relocated to its present location in 1815. The plaza was the focal point of activity and the growth of Los Angeles throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and early American eras. The Plaza Church is only one of a number of significant structures in the plaza area representing this span of time.

Kingston Cutoff. The Kingston Cutoff was developed in the "post-trail era to accommodate wagon traffic" (Madsen 1998b:8). Springs along this cutoff included (from east to west) Horse Thief, Beck, Crystal, and Rabbit Holes. This route, described by Carvalho in 1854, skirted the southern edge of the Dumont Hills. It rejoined the main route toward the north end of the Silurian Valley just south of the Dumont Dunes, another area documented by travelers. Chandless followed the Kingston Springs variant (Cutoff) from the Mormon Road in 1856, and the Wheeler Party used it in 1869-1873. Wheeler campsite number 66 was located along this route.

Landmarks along the main Kingston Cutoff included Kingston Springs and Coyote Holes.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES

Other than the New Mexico pueblos and the Mojave villages, no specific sites along the Old Spanish Trail that may be associated with the tribes that occupied territory along the Old Spanish Trail during the early 1800s have been listed. There are several reasons for this omission. Tribes have identified few sites directly associated with the trail route. In addition, ethnographic sites are often places of worship (sacred sites), or they may be sites where special resources may be obtained or where battles or important events took place. In almost all cases, tribes prefer that ethnographic sites not be listed or their locations publicized.

Traders, trappers, explorers, and immigrants on the Old Spanish Trail followed trade and transportation routes developed by American Indians, many of whom still lived in the vicinity of the route during its primary period of use. Numerous Indian pueblos, many dating back centuries, are situated along the Old Spanish Trail in northern New Mexico. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Spanish established missions and ranchos in or near most of these pueblos, converting many of the residents to Catholicism and helping to transplant Hispanic culture into northern New Mexico. Santa Fe and villages such as Abiquiú and Taos served as trading centers, where trade goods were collected for transshipment. The majority of these pueblos and Hispanic villages retain much of their cultural heritage and are occupied by descendants of the groups who contributed some of the labor and goods that made commerce on the Old Spanish Trail possible.

Apache territory once covered a large portion of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in which the Apache maintained a trading relationship with Pueblo groups. Gradually, Apache raiding activities increased, as warfare with the Comanche and expansion of New Mexican (and later American) settlers onto Apache territory decreased their available resource base. During the mid- to late 1800s, the Apache became fierce guerrilla fighters and masters of survival. Sites important to the Apache people are found within the Jicarilla Apache Reservation just south of the Colorado/New Mexico border in north-central New Mexico.

By the time of Mexican independence, the Ute (Utah) Indians had become skilled horsemen, occupying a territory of over 130,000 square miles, most on the Colorado Plateau, in present-day Colorado and Utah. At least seven different bands occupied parts of southern Colorado alone.

The Ute Indians are thought to have traded with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico before the Spanish arrived. The Spanish probably joined the trade in the early seventeenth century, well before any English or Americans were in the area. Later, the New Mexicans' trade with the Utes was also a means of securing the northern borders of New Spain against perceived threats from the British and the Americans, and as a way to control trade in guns. At first, the various Ute bands were friendly with the American trappers and the New Mexico traders, and often traveled into New Mexico to secure trade items. It is possible that quite a bit of the reciprocal trade between New Mexicans and Utes, especially in slaves and furs, moved along parts of the Old Spanish Trail. Some Ute bands profited greatly from the slave trade, and by capturing or acquiring horses from Euro-Americans. By 1846, as Euro-American settlers crowded into Ute territory, and as game and other resources decreased, the Utes began making forays against settlements in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Years of conflict followed, and eventually the United States government concentrated the Ute on reservations in Colorado and Utah.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, at least 16 identifiable groups of Southern Paiute (including the Chemehuevi) occupied the Great Basin in a broad strip of territory extending across southern Utah and southern Nevada, and southward into California and Arizona (Kelly and Fowler 1986:368). Relationships with their linguistic cousins, the Ute, were ambivalent and sometimes hostile. The Southern Paiute lacked the horses held by the Ute, and

> were in the unfortunate position of being between Ute raiders on the north and east and Navajos on the south. There were also astride a portion of the Old Spanish Trail, which opened for commerce in the 1830s and became a route for slaving activities .... [Paiute women and children] were "hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless" (Kelly and Fowler 1986:386).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the Southern Paiute ancestral territory had been lost to settlers and ranchers, and even to the Navajo, in what would become the Western Navajo Reservation (Tiller 1996:213). Today, ten small Southern Paiute groups occupy separate reservations or communities in Utah and Arizona in the San Juan/Colorado River drainage basin.

The Navajo acquired horses and sheep from the Spanish in the 1600s, and became part of the complex trading/raiding/slaving network during the early 1800s. Following American acquisition of the Southwest, the Navajo were rounded up and forced on the infamous "Long Walk" to Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

The Mojave Indians occupied the Mojave Valley, which extends through California, Nevada, and Arizona. They farmed along the Colorado River near Fort Mohave. They traded with coastal Indians, and developed many of the trails connecting desert water holes. Their settlements were small and were

often intermittently occupied. A number of travelers along the Old Spanish Trail visited the Mojave villages; the Mojave periodically occupied Cottonwood Island, above Fort Mohave. Today, Mojave people live on or near the Fort Mojave and Colorado River reservations along the Colorado River in California, Arizona, and Nevada.

After 1830, the Chemehuevi had moved into the southern part of the western Mojave Desert. This movement broke up the traditional trading and travel patterns of the Mojave Indians. By the 1840s, areas such as Willow Springs had "become intermittent campsites for Chemehuevi and other Piaute livestock rustlers" (Love and De Witt 1990:96). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chemehuevi were dispersed as non-Indians moved into their lands. It was not until 1971 that a reservation was set aside for this group near Havasu Lake, California. Today, some Chemehuevi reside jointly with groups of Hopi, Mojave, and Navajo Indians on the Colorado River Indian Reservation in California and Arizona.

The Serrano Vanyume Indians occupied parts of the western Mojave Desert, the eastern San Bernardino Mountains, Cajon Pass, and the San Bernardino area (Bean and Smith 1978:570). Between 1820 and 1834, many of the Western Serrano and the Vanyume were moved by the *Californios* into the various missions (Ibid.). Present-day Serranos live on reservations in California.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Through urban development and highway construction, recreational activities, construction of dams, and agriculture, much of the landscape along the Old Spanish Trail has changed radically since the 1800s. However, in a number of areas, the landforms, vegetation, and general configuration of the trail remain much as they were during the heyday of the trail. In northern New Mexico, the adobe dwellings of Indian pueblos and Hispanic villages along the river contrast with the backdrop of snow-capped mountains; these places still retain their historic character and feeling.

Some of the rolling pasturelands of the western San Luis Valley remain remote and largely undeveloped. Away from the freeways and fence lines in western Colorado, southern Utah, and northern Arizona, the stark landscape stretches to the far horizon, and appears to have changed little for over 150 years. Landmarks such as Casa Colorado and Looking Glass Rock were mentioned by travelers, and continue to be visual reminders of the critical importance landmarks played in what was a largely uncharted wilderness.

On Utah's San Rafael Swell, the extensive rock formations and natural tanks at Big Holes, still used for stock watering, are only one of the many trailside landscapes that continue to retain their character and integrity. In southwestern Utah, selective viewsheds replicate scenes described by travelers along the Old Spanish Trail. Many areas of the trail that traverse the several Indian Reservations along the route also retain the feeling of the original journey.

The extremes of desert heat and cold in the Mojave Desert, the difficult overland travel through sand and rocks, the importance of the scattered waterholes, and the long-range vistas of massive stone buttes and mesas have changed little over the past century and a half. This landscape evokes in modern travelers who traverse segments of the Old Spanish Trail a strong sense of place—a place of stark beauty filled with struggle and difficulty. The view from the top of Emigrant Pass cannot help but create in observers a sense of empathy for earlier travelers who struggled to surmount the pass, only to then look southwest at yet another stretch of arid desert. These landscapes communicate the story of the route visually, emotionally, and in a heartfelt way that no words can adequately express.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Climate

With the exception of mountainous high country, the climate along the Old Spanish Trail is generally warm and dry. Average annual rainfall along the route varies widely from traces in the California deserts to more than 40 inches a year in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado. Mean annual temperatures range from the 70s to the 30s along the trail route. This can vary dramatically by season, with May through September being the hottest months. The highest temperatures recorded along the route were over 120 degrees (in the Mojave Desert); the lowest temperatures were more than 60 degrees below zero in Colorado's mountains. Relative humidity is generally quite low when compared with other parts of the nation.

Physiography

The Old Spanish Trail begins in northern New Mexico and runs in a generally westerly or northwesterly direction through the states of Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and Nevada, before ending in southern California, not far from the Pacific Ocean.

In New Mexico, this historic route begins in the Southern Rocky Mountains Physiographic Province—an area of steep, linear, north-south-trending mountain ranges drained, in this area, by the Río Grande. The Northern Route continues north-northwest through the Rocky Mountains, moving along the San Juan River drainage. In the case of the North Branch and its western fork, the trail traverses the 100-mile long, 50+-mile-wide San Luis Valley—a mountain "park" bordered by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east and the San Juans on the west. In northwestern New Mexico, the Northern Route moves northwest into the geologically young Navajo Section, a country of sandstone and shale, which has been subjected to erosion in an arid climate, that has resulted in mesas, cuestas, terraces, escarpments, canyons, and dry washes. As the route enters Utah's red deserts and the Canyonlands Section of the Colorado Plateau Province, the starkly contrasting, deeply cut canyons and plateaus provide a formidable barrier to travel. The Colorado River drains this region.

The North Branch rejoins the Northern Route at Green River in central Utah. The combined route continues southwest into the Great Basin Section of the Basin and Range Province. Most of the section has internal drainage (Thornbury 1965:483), but the Sevier and Virgin Rivers drain southwestern Utah. This great region stretches between the Colorado Plateau and the Sierra Nevada Range, and is characterized by isolated, roughly parallel mountain ranges separated by desert basins.

The Colorado Plateau, an area of canyons and mesas, extends over the northeastern two-fifths of Arizona. This area includes the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, a feature that played a major role in determining the direction and location of the trail. The remainder of the area traversed by the trail is arid basin land—the Basin and Range Province—punctuated by small mountain ranges (in Nevada, at least 150 north-south trending ranges break the basin and range uplands).

As the trail enters southeastern California and the Mojave Desert, it is, technically, within the Sonoran Desert Section of the Province (Fenneman 1931:367-369).

Like the Great Basin, basin ranges and intervening desert plains characterize the Sonoran Desert. However, the altitude is lower, the ranges are smaller and more isolated, and rock pediments are more prevalent. It is an area of extremely low rainfall. In southern California, the Mojave Desert is drained by the Mojave River, which flows mostly beneath its gravel bed, surfacing only where there is impervious rock. The western end of the Mojave (Antelope Valley) has substantial supplies of subsurface water.

Once the trail crosses Cajon Pass in the Los Angeles mountain ranges (consisting of narrow mountain ranges and broad fault blocks paralleling the coastline), it drops rapidly down onto the alluviated lowlands bordered by the Pacific Ocean.

The elevational gradient along the trail can range from near sea level in the Mojave Desert to over 10,000 feet in the Colorado Rocky Mountains. The eastern portions of the route average between 4,000 and 8,000 feet in elevation; the western desert portions of the route are much lower, with some areas of the Nevada and California deserts measuring less than 500 feet above sea level. Generally, the gradient runs from higher to lower as one travels west.

Soil types include the arid alkaline "brown" soils found in the basin and range country of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona; the thin, stony mountain soils (lithosols) of the Colorado and Utah high country; the gray, often very alkaline desert soils (high in lime or gypsum) of Arizona, Utah, and California; and the Pacific Valley soils found in the valleys adjacent to the Los Angeles ranges of mountains.

Vegetation

Native plants vary greatly along the routes, due to differences in elevation, moisture, area geology, and soils. (Information on plants was synthesized from selected National Park Service publications, as well as *Flora of North America* (1993) and Barbour and Billings (1988). Generally, however, vegetation types can be linked to regional physiography. For example, vegetation along the trail route in the mountainous areas of northern New Mexico is characterized by coniferous trees, including ponderosa pine parkland with a Gambel oak understory in higher elevations, grading into mixed piñon-juniper woodlands on lower, drier slopes. Cottonwoods and willows dominate riparian plant communities. Other common trees include aspen, Douglas fir, spruce, and white fir. In the lower, drier elevations of the Basin and Range Province of northwestern New Mexico, vegetation may include cactuses, creosote bush, greasewood, grama grass, mesquite, shadscale, yuccas, rabbitbrush, and sage.

In Colorado's San Luis Valley, the North Branch ran through a typical rabbitbrush prairie (with occasional cactuses and sparse perennial grasses). Closer to the mountains is a foothill plant community including piñon-juniper woodlands, ponderosa pine, streamside cottonwoods, and a few groves of aspen. Limber pine, white fir, Douglas fir, and Englemann spruce occur farther upslope.

In northwestern Colorado, typical semiarid coniferous cover includes piñon-juniper woodland with intermingled Douglas fir and an understory of scattered brush such as Gambel oak, serviceberry, mountain mahogany, Mormon tea, sagebrush, rabbitbrush, and grasses and herbs. Vegetation in southwestern Colorado is typical of the transition life zone of the high plateau country. In higher elevations, mountain/shrub vegetation includes Gambel oak and various grasses, interspersed with serviceberry and other shrubs. Lower portions of the plateau support a mature piñon pine/Utah juniper forest with scattered small stands of Douglas fir and occasional aspen. Grasslands are dominated by herbaceous vegetation; major grasses are Western wheatgrass, blue grama, junegrass, muttongrass, and needle-and-thread grass, with sagebrush and chaparral in drier areas.

Trail routes in Utah cut through a number of different ecological zones, but generally water is scarce. Blackbrush, shadscale, and Mormon tea cover much of the east-central area of the state, along with Indian ricegrass, needle and thread, galleta, and grama grasses. Big sage, rabbitbrush, and greasewood inhabit sandy-soiled benches that have a good groundwater supply. In areas where crevices provide more moisture, piñons and junipers, cliffrose, mountain mahogany, barberry, and snowberry exist. Near the Green and Colorado rivers are communities of cottonwood, willow, and tamarisk. Western montane conifer forests occupy the central part of the state.

Plants of the Intermountain Great Basin of western Utah are principally cold desert shrubs, grading into the Mojave's warm desert shrubs in the southwestern corner of the state and in northwestern Arizona. Woody species of sagebrush, saltbush, and greasewood are the most characteristic and widespread plants in the northern part of the area; piñon and juniper appear throughout the region in scattered areas.

In south-central Utah, a mosaic of desert grassland, warm desert scrub, and Madrean woodlands and scrublands appears. Because of their wide elevational differences and latitudinal span, the Mojave warm desert plants of southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southern California make up a wide variety of vegetation types. However, the most common association of plants is dominated by creosote bush and white bursage. The locations of big sagebrush, shadscale, saltbush, and blackbrush communities found throughout the Mojave are based on temperature, elevation, moisture, and soil. Spiny desert plants such as menodora, wolfberries, Mormon tea, ratany, goldenhead Fremont dalea, catclaw, and yellow paper daisy are common. Many cactuses appear in this area, including chollas, beavertail, and barrel cactus, along with various types of yucca. Distribution of Joshua trees essentially outlines the Mojave Desert, but is elevationally restricted to higher sites.

The California desert contains the same plant communities, along with indigo bushes and burroweeds. Forested areas at higher, mountainous elevations contain aspen, cottonwood, firs, junipers, piñons, pines, scrub oaks, spruces, and alders. California chaparral dominates the foothills from the Sierra Nevada to the Pacific Ocean. "Chapparral" is a collective term used for a number of evergreen shrub species such as manzanita, scrub oak, buckbrush, lemonadeberry, laurel sumac, and mountain mahogany.

Animals

Numerous different types of animals are present along trail routes. Wildlife species common to areas along the Old Spanish trail are listed in Appendix E.

Threatened or Endangered Species

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service offices in each trail state have been contacted to identify threatened and endangered animal and plant species that may exist along the Old Spanish Trail. To ensure that such species would be protected, site-specific surveys would be required before any trail-related actions are taken. A complete listing of threatened and endangered plant and animal species found along the route is available upon request to the National Park Service Long Distance Trails Group Office – Santa Fe.

Within New Mexico counties crossed by the trail, one mammal, two birds, three fishes (with designated critical habitat), and two plants are federally listed as endangered species; two birds are listed as federally threatened species; and one bird has been proposed for listing as threatened. One mammal and one amphibian are federal candidate species. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service considers 13 mammals, 11 birds, three fishes, one reptile, four invertebrates, two amphibians, one snail, one clam, and 14 plants as species of concern.

One mammal, one bird, four fishes, and three plants are federally listed as endangered species in Colorado. Threatened species include two birds and two plants. One mammal and one bird are proposed for listing as threatened species; one amphibian and one plant are candidate species; and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service list two birds as sensitive species.

Species federally listed as endangered within the State of Utah include two birds, one mammal, seven fishes, and four plants. Threatened species include one reptile, two birds, one mammal, and seven plants. Two plants are candidate species. One fish and one amphibian are being managed under conservation agreements and strategies.

In Arizona, 16 species are federally listed as endangered (four mammals, two birds, one snail, five fishes, and four plants). Threatened species include three birds, one reptile, three fishes, and six plants; one bird is proposed for listing as a threatened species. Candidate species include one amphibian and four plants. The California condor is classified as an experimental population, and one plant is being managed under a conservation agreement.

In the two Nevada counties crossed by the Old Spanish Trail, three birds, 14 fishes, and one plant are federally listed as endangered species; two of the fishes have designated critical habitat. Threatened species include two birds, four fishes, one reptile, seven plants, and one invertebrate. One bird has been proposed for listing as a threatened species, and one plant and one amphibian are candidate species. Numerous species are listed as "species of concern," including 41 mammals, 20 birds, 20 fishes, four amphibians, six reptiles, 46 invertebrates, and 97 plants.

Federally listed endangered species for three California counties include one mammal, four birds, one reptile, one amphibian, four fishes, one invertebrate, and 10 plants. One mammal, two birds, two fishes, and one plant are endangered species with critical habitat. Critical habitat has been proposed for one endangered species of fish. Two birds, two fishes, one amphibian, and eight plant species are listed as threatened. In addition, one reptile (threatened species) has had critical habitat designated; critical habitat is proposed for one bird species listed as threatened. One bird species is proposed for listing as threatened. One plant is a candidate species.

Floodplains and Wetlands

The Old Spanish Trail contains some lands that are in a floodplain and/or are wetlands. On the level on which this study was conducted, it is not possible to determine with any precision how many of these areas are on the trail. However, any federal agency involved in trail development would be required to follow Executive Order 11988, "Floodplain Management." This requires federal agencies to avoid, to the extent possible, the long- and short-term adverse impacts associated with the occupancy and modification of floodplains wherever there is a practical alternative. Also, federal policy virtually prohibits federal agencies from taking certain actions in a 500-year floodplain, including the storage of irreplaceable cultural artifacts.

SOCIOECONOMIC RESOURCES

The Northern and Southern Routes of the Old Spanish Trail pass through the New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California counties listed below. The route(s) begin in Santa Fe, New Mexico, current population 55,859. At its western terminus, the route traverses the metropolitan area within and surrounding Los Angeles in California within the counties of San Bernardino (population 1,418,380) and Los Angeles (8,863,164). (Population statistics for these and the following communities are taken from the United States Census tables for 1990.) Smaller cities along the route include Grand Junction, Colorado (29,034); St. George, Utah (28,502); Las Vegas, Nevada (258,295); and Barstow (21,472) and Victorville (40,674), California. While modern highways often follow or parallel the routes, and cities and towns are situated along the corridor, a great deal of the original trail lies within undeveloped areas having very low population density.

The trail passes through the following counties.

New Mexico: Santa Fe, Taos, Río Arriba, Sandoval, San Juan.

Colorado: Alamosa, Archuleta, Conejos, Costilla, Delta, Dolores, Gunnison, La Plata, Mesa, Montezuma, Montrose, Río Grande, Saguache.

Utah: Emery Garfield, Grand, Iron, Kane, Piute, San Juan, Sevier, Washington.

Arizona: Apache, Coconino, Mohave, Navajo.

Nevada: Clark.

California: Inyo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino.

Seventy percent of New Mexico's gross state product is generated by service industries. Many of the service industries are associated with tourism and are especially important to the state's economy. Several million tourists visit the state each year, contributing billions of dollars to its economy. Much of the state's farm income comes mainly from cattle, dairy products, and sheep, along with grains, legumes and peppers, fruit, and nuts. New Mexico is the nation's major producer of uranium, perlite, and potash ore, and natural gas and petroleum are the state's most important mineral products. Federal and defense projects provide important income for the state.

The Colorado economy includes agricultural income from cattle, winter wheat, and farm produce. Mining and mineral products and mining equipment are important sources of income, as are the manufacturing of military equipment and defense and aerospace electronics. Four-fifths of the gross state product is generated by service industries; including community, business, and personal services; wholesale and retail trade; finance; insurance; real estate; and federal, state, and local governments. The tourist industry is the third largest in the state, with over 7 million visitors per year. In 1995, direct tourist-related spending generated $6 billion in revenue for the state

Tourism related to Salt Lake City and the state's ski resorts is an important source of income. Mining (oil, coal, natural gas, and metals) is also a major contributor to Utah's economy. A relatively small amount of arable land in Utah produces livestock (primarily cattle, sheep, and turkeys) and farm produce such as wheat and other grains, sugar beets, hay, vegetables, and orchard fruits. The timber industry harvests Western softwoods, primarily conifers. Manufacturing includes food processing, metal processing, and fabrication, along with high-tech electronics. Seventy-five percent of Utah's

gross state product is generated by service industries, which include community, business, and personal services; wholesale and retail trade; finance; insurance; real estate; and federal, state, and local governments. These are concentrated in the urban areas of the state.

Entertainment and tourism are by far the largest segment of the Nevada economy, attracting more than 30 million visitors a year to the Las Vegas and Reno areas. Eighty-one percent of Nevada's gross state product is generated by service industries, which include community, business, and personal services; wholesale and retail trade; finance; insurance; real estate; and federal, state, and local governments. The state's primary agricultural cash producer is cattle and sheep ranching, along with some grains and truck vegetables. Mining (for example, copper and gold) is a major income producer.

Arizona's economic base includes mining and minerals (especially copper); the manufacture of electrical, electronic, and ceramic products and equipment; and agriculture (feedstocks, cotton, vegetables, and fruits, and beef and dairy products). Seventy-six percent of Arizona's gross state product is generated by service industries, which include community, business, and personal services; wholesale and retail trade; health care; finance; insurance; real estate; and federal, state, and local governments. Tourism brings in more than $500 million to the state annually.

Seventy-nine percent of California's gross state product is generated by service industries, which include community, business, and personal services; wholesale and retail trade; finance; insurance; real estate; and federal, state, and local governments. Part of the service industry includes tourism, which amounted to 250 million people in 1995. Manufacturing and agriculture are also important to the state's economy.

LANDOWNERSHIP AND LAND USE

Approximately 1,700 miles of the Northern and Armijo Routes of the Old Spanish Trail are within federal land (primarily national forests and parks, and land managed by the U.S. Department of Interior's Bureau of Land Management). Total trail miles are more than 3,500. An additional 500 miles of the trail run through state lands and Indian reservations, and most of the rest of the trail's 1,300 miles are on private land. Some of the trail segments lie within state or county road rights-of-way. The trail crosses several geographic regions, including the Rocky Mountains, the Colorado Plateau, a small segment of the Great Basin, the Mojave Desert, and the Los Angeles Basin. Land use along route alignments varies, from deserts used primarily by recreationists and the military, grassy and shrubby rangelands, intensive agriculture, grazing, low-density rural residential areas, to industrial uses.

New Mexico

Almost a third of New Mexico's land (121,598 square miles) is federally owned; Indian tribes and individuals own or have in trust almost eight million acres. Only a fraction of the state's land has been developed, and this development is focused in the major river valleys. Most of the state is classed as rural, with rangeland occupying the largest percentage of the total. Forty state parks and five state monuments occupy 123,000 acres, and 10 national monuments and seven national forests take up a little over 10 million acres.

Colorado

A little over one-third of the 104,100 square miles of land in Colorado is federally owned or managed; much of this land (over 16 million acres) lies within the state's national forests. There are 766,925 acres of Indian land in the state. Smaller acreages are within the state park (233,000 acres) and national park (597,000 acres) systems. Despite extensive development along the Front Range, most of Colorado is rural, with rangeland, cropland, and forests occupying most of the land area. Around two-fifths of Colorado's land is devoted to agriculture.

Utah

Over sixty-three percent of Utah's 84,904 square miles is federally owned or managed, and Indian tribes and individuals have about two-and-one-third million acres of land. There are six federal reservations in Utah. State parks and recreation areas occupy about 116,000 acres of land; national parks cover over two million acres; and the national forests occupy over nine million acres.

Nevada

Only about 465,000 acres of Nevada land had been developed by 1990, and most of the land area is classed as rangeland. Eighty-five percent of Nevada land (totaling 110,567 square miles) is federally owned or managed, and over a million acres are Indian owned or held in trust. About 142,000 acres are in state parks and recreation areas; together, the national parks and forests occupy around six million acres.

Arizona

In Arizona, over 20 million acres of the state's total 114,006 square miles are Indian owned or held in trust for tribes. Forty-three percent of the land area within the state is federally owned or managed. This includes land managed by the Bureau of Land Management; numerous national historic sites, parks, memorials, monuments, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas; and several national forests. Thirty-nine thousand acres of Arizona land is within state parks and recreation areas; and 14 million acres are in national parks and national forests. Slightly over a million acres is in developed land, mostly in the Maricopa Valley (Phoenix and Tucson metropolitan areas) and Flagstaff areas. The rest of the acreage is divided among rural land, rangeland, and forestlands, with a small percentage in cropland and pastureland.

California

A little less than half (46.4 per cent) of California (163,707 square miles) is federally owned or managed. Indian-owned or trust lands total 586,818 acres. State parks and recreation areas occupy 1,299,000 acres; and national parks and forests hold around 29,000,000 acres. Over four and one half million acres of the state are developed; but more than 49 million acres are classed as rural. Most of this land is in crops, rangeland, and forests. Much of the land along the eastern segment of the trail (in California) is undeveloped. At the west end of the route, the Los Angeles Basin is heavily developed and populated, with private homes, businesses, manufacturing, transportation industries, and so forth.

ALTERNATIVE A: NO ACTION

The history, meaning, and significance of the Old Spanish Trail are being interpreted, commemorated, and preserved in varying degrees along the trail. Protection and commemoration of the Old Spanish Trail would continue to be left to initiatives by federal agencies, state and local governments, and others.

Management

Sites, structures, and trail segments associated with the Old Spanish Trail are currently owned by federal, state, and local governments, as well as by the private sector.

Visitor Use and Interpretation

A number of developed and undeveloped historic sites and trail segments can be found along the trail and several guidebooks exist. With the current interest in the trail, other visitor use opportunities are likely to be developed. The Old Spanish Trail Association promotes visitor use, interpretation, preservation, and commemoration of the trail. The association has chapters that work on the local level, and has a newsletter and website. Many other organizations and agencies are taking action at the local level to recognize and commemorate the Old Spanish Trail (see "Potential Partnerships" section).

Various levels of interpretation on the Old Spanish Trail can be found along routes of the trail. The quality of interpretation varies from area to area, and no one area tells the entire Old Spanish Trail story.

Resource Preservation

Many Old Spanish Trail resources have not been located or documented. Sites, structures, and trail segments continue to be damaged and destroyed, particularly in areas of urban development. Opportunities are lost to record and document tangible remains of the trail. A number of sites, structures, and trail segments remain under the control of federal, state, local, and private-sector organizations that continue to protect the areas. Information evaluated in this study helps to underscore that the Old Spanish Trail has state and local historical significance, making its routes and sites potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

Estimated Costs

There would be no direct costs for new programs, but available federal, state, local, and private funds are being spent on a variety of programs, but there is no central coordination. The precise costs cannot be determined because the preservation and interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail are components of larger preservation and interpretive programs by various organizations.

ALTERNATIVE B: ESTABLISH THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL THROUGH OTHER DESIGNATIONS

In order to provide a variety of options for consideration, an alternative that does not require federal action is offered. A variation of the alternative that would have increased federal involvement is also presented. In Section 8(a) of the National Trails System Act, there is a provision that

> the Secretary of the Interior is directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plans and proposals...needs and opportunities for establishing park, forest, and other recreation and historic trails on lands owned or administered by States, and recreation and historic trails on lands in or near urban areas. The Secretary is also directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide historic preservation plans and proposals...needs and opportunities for establishing historic trails.

The trail states could take the lead in developing "state historic trails." This would be a new program, which could be based on parallel state commemorative programs like "state register" programs **or** state historic site programs.

State historic trails or other retracement routes could be designated as National Recreation Trails. A series of such trails could be developed through state, local, and private sector initiatives and, where appropriate, with federal land management agencies on whose lands the Old Spanish Trail is located. Establishment of National Recreation Trails would not require federal land acquisition. Trails that meet appropriate criteria can be designated as National Recreation Trails by the Secretary of the Interior through the National Trails System Act

Through this alternative, visitors would have an opportunity to travel along trail systems that evoke the Old Spanish Trail. Where possible, the routes could closely follow the original trail but in other areas they may only parallel the trail. A variety of natural resources (deserts, forests, and rivers) and cultural resources (archeological sites, trail-associated structures, and trail remnants) along these trail systems would help to bring this story alive.

Management

Implementation of this alternative does not require action by Congress. The National Park Service does not need to initiate it, and it could be undertaken by a local/state agency or land management interests. Management would be at the discretion of the states. Administrative activities could also be undertaken by a private organization, such as the Old Spanish Trail Association and its local chapters, which could work with the states to coordinate trail programs.

A management option for Alternative B would involve Congress establishing an Old Spanish Trail commission to oversee trail programs and providing it with annual operating funds. It would be independent of any single government agency, but could nonetheless seek federal financial and technical assistance. The commission would administer the trail. It would have the resources—different from those of the National Park Service—to enhance the visitor experience by increasing the number of interpretive programs and activities commemorating the Old Spanish Trail. The commission would offer approaches to providing interpretation beyond the designated trail(s) and immediate resources.

The commission could enlist the support of communities, volunteer groups, special interests such as school districts, and others to join an umbrella organization in support of Old Spanish Trail interpretation and commemoration. Greater participation would support a wide variety of programming and activities, including preservation, interpretation, and celebration of Old Spanish Trail resources. Experiential activities, festivals, community activities, and other programs would offer local people, as well as national visitors, the opportunity to both visit the trail and participate in activities year-round. Additionally, visitors would have access to "take-home" interpretive materials emphasizing trailwide context and meaning beyond regional, site-specific, and route information. The Old Spanish Trail commission would have the authority over actions such as officially recognizing participating sites and segments, coordinating with participating state governments, soliciting and distributing funds, and developing a copyrighted logo and signs.

The commission could serve as a clearinghouse to provide technical and grant information concerning the preservation of Old Spanish Trail resources. The commission could develop a catalog of all Old Spanish Trail sites and trail segments, starting with those named in this study and extending new research to identify additional sites and segments, and general history. This research could extend to scholarly work in Spain, Mexico, and the United States, and could add to the body of knowledge on the trail.

Visitor Use and Interpretation

Under this alternative, people would follow marked state historic trails or new recreational trails commemorating representative Old Spanish Trail segments. The primary visitor experience would include traveling through landscapes and visiting sites and other resources associated with the Old Spanish Trail story. Individual land managers and agencies would develop trail opportunities and propose them for recognition by the Secretary of the Interior as National Recreational Trails.

The extent of trail development might vary depending on the interest of the individual states and the federal agencies on whose land the Old Spanish Trail is found. This concept could primarily involve using existing trails and roads, with some new trails being developed using funding from government and non-government sources. States could be encouraged to designate commemorative highways that parallel trail routes. Highways that meet the appropriate criteria could be designated as scenic byways. This could provide the potential to garner federal cost-share funds through state highway departments to help interpret the trail and provide recreation opportunities.

Interpretation would focus on the Old Spanish Trail and the broad historic heritage along the trail corridor. A trail guide could be developed to lead people from one site or cultural or natural resource to another. Individual sites or segments would be interpreted in a variety of ways, including guided tours on the trail(s), or media identifying and interpreting cultural and natural features along the trail(s).

An interrelated network of state historic and national recreation trails would offer a range of trail-related activities. The trails could be in, or accessible to, urban areas, or within federal and state parks, forests, or other recreational areas. Wherever possible, significant natural and cultural features associated with the Old Spanish Trail in the area would be incorporated into the trail network. Trails could be located in such a way as to take advantage of abandoned rights-of-way, existing trails, and existing roads, though these may not follow historic routes. Additionally, the trails would be designed for a variety of users.

Resource Preservation

There would be no additional federal funds for preservation under this concept, and no federal land acquisition would be authorized. However, the designation of National Recreation Trail(s) would carry with it the recognition of being part of the National Trails System. State and local governments, as well as the private and non-profit sectors, may be encouraged by these designations to set a high priority for projects that include resources related to the Old Spanish Trail.

The information found on trail sites and segments in this document could be used by the State Historic Preservation Offices or others to begin work on National Register of Historic Places nomination forms for sites and segments of the trail. This designation would allow for additional protection and recognition of these areas, and could result in funding for their preservation.

Estimated Costs

A number of federal cost-sharing programs could be used to defray expenses of trail development and interpretation, and state and local or private-sector funding sources could be sought to implement trail programs. Projects could qualify for funding from Federal Highway Administration enhancement funds, which are generally administered through state highway departments. National Recreation Trails are eligible for limited National Park Service Challenge Cost-Share Program funding through the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program under National Park Service cooperative agreement authorities. Projects on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management, the USDA Forest Service, and the National Park Service might qualify for cost-share or other funding by those agencies.

Should the management option to establish a commission to administer the designated recreation trail be chosen—there would be operating costs for the commission. Based on the focus and decisions of the commission, and the funding they receive from federal aid and private contributions, the cost may vary. National Park Service experiences with operating commissions suggest that the basic operating expenses would be in the range of $300,000 to $600,000 per year.

ALTERNATIVE C: ESTABLISH AN OLD SPANISH TRAIL NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

This feasibility study finds that the Old Spanish Trail is nationally significant, meets the criteria for designation as a National Historic Trail, and proposes that Congress could enact legislation to authorize the National Historic Trail. Under this alternative, the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, including the Northern Route, the North Branch and the Armijo Route would be designated by Congress as the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail and would become a unit of the National Trails System.

Other identified variants of these routes were studied in the preparation of this feasibility study, including the western fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, and the Kingston Cutoff. These three variants are included as part of the overall study area and met the criteria for National Historic Trail designation, but are not recommended for designation at this time, because data is lacking to show that they were used in conducting trade and commerce between New Mexico and California during the period 1829-1848. Future investigations may uncover additional information on these variants that shows they were used for trade and commerce during the period of significance. Because these routes have met all other study requirements of the National Trails System Act, this alternative includes the suggestion that any legislation developed to designate the Old Spanish Trail should also authorize the

Secretary to administratively add these trail variants to the National Historic Trail if sufficient documentation is presented to verify their association and use.

Management

When designating the route, Congress would identify a lead federal agency to administer the trail in cooperation with a variety of management partners, including state, local, and other federal agencies, American Indian tribes, local communities, private landowners, and others.

The administrative activities would include preparing a comprehensive management and use plan; identifying sites and segments with significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest; developing cooperative agreements; certifying qualified sites; and stimulating, assisting, and coordinating preservation and interpretive activities. The administering agency would also develop a uniform marker (logo) and, where appropriate, mark the trail and auto tour route and manage the official logo for proper use. Other activities include providing technical and limited financial assistance; assisting and conducting historical and archeological research; carrying out monitoring to ensure the preservation and quality of certified sites, segments, and facilities; and establishing approaches to interpretation and preparing interpretive materials.

The purpose of the comprehensive management and use plan would be to help achieve consistent and effective preservation, public use, and interpretive strategies. Section 5(f) of the National Trails System Act (Appendix A) identifies the items to be addressed in such a plan.

The comprehensive management and use plan could include provisions to work cooperatively with state and local governments and landowners to help preserve the natural landscapes along the Old Spanish Trail.

The voluntary process for certifying sites along the proposed Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail would be similar to the process used for other National Historic Trails. Certified trail properties would be non-federal historic sites, trail segments, and interpretive facilities that meet the standards of the administering agency for resource preservation and public enjoyment. Certification is a partnership or a type of cooperative agreement that has the flexibility to meet the landowner's needs while helping ensure protection and appropriate public use. Under the National Trails System Act, private owners of certified sites may be enrolled in the agency's volunteer program. Volunteer status provides liability protection for activities that are within the scope of the volunteer agreement.

Visitor Use and Interpretation

A range of visitor use opportunities could be developed on appropriate public lands and private properties that have been certified with landowner consent. Easements might also be acquired to provide for public use. Such use would be managed so that there would not be any degradation of archeological or historic sites. Existing trail systems could be expanded for activities such as hiking and horseback riding, and new trails could be developed to allow retracement of the original route.

Interpretation refers to activities designed to convey important information, to educate, to reveal relationships related to natural and cultural resources, and to foster further inquiry and stewardship. The interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail would focus on three areas; the story and significance, the place and landscape, and the people.

From a distance, much of the landscape of the route of the Old Spanish Trail today generally resembles its appearance during its period of significance. Designation as a National Historic Trail would provide opportunities for visitors to retrace the historic route and see the same patterns today. They could imagine the feelings of traveling through the forested mountains or across the seemingly barren Mojave Desert. Many of the same enticing vistas, cool rivers, and hot, desert expanses are still there for visitors to experience and appreciate.

Future planning efforts would identify interpretive facilities and media. Consistency would be needed in information, design, and visitor use guidelines. Media and program design should be accomplished with the involvement of interested and knowledgeable groups and individuals.

Facilities would include visitor centers, contact stations, and unattended kiosks. The federal administering agency normally would not construct or operate visitor facilities for the trail unless it was in partnership with appropriate state and private organizations with broad public support and a demonstrated ability to raise the funds needed to build and operate such facilities. However, the federal agency could provide, based on the availability of funds, technical and financial assistance to others in the planning, development, and overall approach to interpretation, including museum exhibits with original or replica artifacts, text and graphic panels, audiovisual programs, interactive computer programs, models, dioramas, and other media. Traveling exhibits would also be possible.

The federal administering agency could also develop, in partnership with others, outdoor interpretive media. A standardized exhibit design would be used to reflect the flavor of the Old Spanish Trail and to help reinforce the public's perception of an integrated trail system. Wayside exhibits are outdoor panels that generally contain text and graphics. Audio stations can also be developed at outdoor locations. Such exhibits and audio would be considered at any locations that met the following criteria: something important and interesting happened here, was here, or is visible from here; and the location is accessible and safe for visitors. Waysides can be placed at road pullouts, vistas, historic sites or features, or trailheads and along trails.

Interpretive publications could also be developed, such as a trailwide brochure, as well as a variety of books, pamphlets, and site folders. Other interpretive media include audio tape/audio compact disc tours, multimedia CD-ROM programs, and a trail web page.

Resource Preservation

The administering agency would work cooperatively with landowners and land managers to protect the remaining historic resources of the trail including, where appropriate, the trail landscapes. Under the National Trails System Act, the administering federal agency could provide technical assistance and limited financial assistance for resource projects and could ensure that development is done in a manner that will avoid or mitigate resource impacts. The agency can also assist with development of resource inventories and monitoring, trail mapping and Geographic Information Systems, studies of visitor carrying capacity, archeological surveys, and other resource studies.

Federally assisted, sponsored, or funded projects would be subject to compliance with a variety of resource preservation laws including the National Environmental Policy Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the Historic Preservation Act. Trail sites and segments could be studied and nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

Land acquisition and easements can be used to protect resources on National Historic Trails. Recent trail designation legislation has limited federal land acquisition to willing-seller/willing-buyer

situations. Landowners could donate land or easements to federal, state, and local agencies or to private organizations, such as historical societies or land trusts.

Estimated Costs

National Historic Trail costs are discussed in more detail in the "Feasibility and Desirability" section. It is estimated that $400,000 annually would be required to provide a minimum level of professional staff and support services to operate a multi-state National Historic Trail such as the Old Spanish Trail. Development of the trail's Comprehensive Management and Use Plan would cost about $400,000 over a two-year period. Because the much of the route is on federal lands, national historic trail designation may require revisions to existing land use/management plans, resulting in additional planning costs for affected agencies. Funding for large-scale projects such as major museum exhibits, films, and so forth would require special authorization. Depending on the availability of annual cost-share funds, several small projects could be done annually.

Figure 4: Emigrant Pass, California

ALTERNATIVE A: NO ACTION

Visitor Use and Experience

A coordinated federal program would not be undertaken to mark the routes and sites associated with the Old Spanish Trail, and no visitor facilities or interpretive programs focused on the Old Spanish Trail would be provided. Interpretive efforts would continue to be idiosyncratic and carried out on a local basis, and focus on local Old Spanish Trail resources. It would therefore be difficult for visitors to appreciate and understand the full story of the Old Spanish Trail and how it affected the people that used it. However, visitors might gain appreciation of one or more isolated stories associated with the Old Spanish Trail. In addition, few developed recreational opportunities would be available for those knowledgeable about the Old Spanish Trail.

Some confusion and misunderstanding on the part of visitors would result from the absence of coordinated interpretive programs and the likelihood that there would continue to be different and sometimes widely varying interpretations of the history. It is possible that there might be local designations of sites and segments that may not have been a part of the Old Spanish Trail. It is also possible that the perspectives of different ethnic groups, including the descendants of indigenous people, Hispanics, and others, would not be fully presented.

Natural and Cultural Resources

Under Alternative A, No Action, there would be no additional impacts on natural resources (such as soils, vegetation, air quality, water quality, wildlife, and threatened and endangered species) on National Park Service lands from development or visitor use; and natural resource protection would continue to vary on non-National Park Service sites.

Also under the No Action alternative, protection of significant historic sites, structures, and trail segments would continue to be fragmented and uncoordinated, and in most areas, funding and public education would be inadequate. However, over one-third of the trail is on existing federal lands and, where sites and trail segments are on the National Register of Historic Places or potentially eligible for nomination, they would receive some protection under existing federal resource preservation laws. Responsibility for protection would lie with local citizens, organizations, and governments. There would be limited opportunity to expand the number of documented sites and trail segments. Ethnographic and cultural landscape resources might continue to receive little attention. However, the Old Spanish Trail Association, local historical groups, and others would continue to encourage scholarly research relating to the trail and promote trail activities to the extent possible.

There would be limited coordinated research, protection, stabilization, or management of archeological sites, unless undertaken by an entity such as the Old Spanish Trail Association under Alternative A. Sites could continue to be subject to vandalism and inappropriate uses, and resources might be destroyed or irretrievably lost if the individual landowner's interest in resource protection is limited.

Without the benefit of additional protection, some historic sites and structures and trail segments significant to the Old Spanish Trail could fall into disrepair and eventually lose integrity.

The lack of coordination of historical research might contribute to redundant and/or fragmented research.

Socioeconomic Resources and Land Use

There would be no significant change in the socioeconomic environment under Alternative A. Federal, state, local, and private trail economic impacts on resources related to the Old Spanish Trail could result in some benefits to local economies. Increases in employment to local communities from additional development opportunities and increases in retail trade from tourism would be limited unless grassroots efforts were to stimulate trail site development, scenic byways, or other means of promoting the trail. Some activities and tourism opportunities might not occur because of a lack of designation, federal coordination, technical assistance, and opportunities for funding.

Under Alternative A, there would be no additional impacts on land use trends. Land use would continue to vary on sites or segments associated with the trail on private land, and be subject to development, which may not be appropriate for resource preservation.

ALTERNATIVE B: ESTABLISH THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL THROUGH OTHER DESIGNATIONS

Visitor Use and Experience

A wide variety of experiences would be available through Alternative B; however, a major commitment of time would be required to visit the sites and features. Most likely, visitors would follow the trail only in a region or local area. Experiences could vary considerably in quality, depending on the degree of coordination along the trail of thematic coordination and overall trail identity.

Under this alternative, people would be able to visit an identifiable geographic area that contains multiple Old Spanish Trail resources. Agencies, organizations, and so forth would have wide latitude as to the scope of historic and natural resources that could be integrated into the programs.

Visitors to the area could gain an understanding of how a journey along the Old Spanish Trail might have been. They could see the physical relationship among the routes and water sources, as well as understand the kinds of physical and social challenges that trail travelers encountered. Landscape features such as rivers, forests, deserts, and grasslands could be interpreted and visited by means of routes similar or identical to ones actually taken by travelers on the trail.

Some aspects of visitor experiences and interpretation would remain the same regardless of which recreational trail was visited. These include the opportunities to visit communities, landscape features, and other resources associated with the trail. Other aspects of visitor experiences and interpretation could vary from trail area to trail area because of geographic location and diverse natural and cultural resources and landscapes. People who visit only one trail portion would learn about the Old Spanish Trail, but visits to more than one trail portion would result in a greater understanding of the range and diversity of the story. Each trail segment could present its own unique interpretation. Conversely, interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail might not be the primary interpretive basis from segment to segment because local communities and organizations might choose to stress other historic events.

Natural and Cultural Resources

Under Alternative B, construction of interpretive waysides and signs would have minimal incremental effects on natural resources from the standpoint of acreage disturbed. These small, simple facilities probably could be built within existing rights-of-way or disturbed areas.

Overall impacts on vegetative and wildlife communities would be minimal. If the construction of trail facilities included trails and parking areas, it could displace and disturb soils in and around construction sites. Any adverse impacts on prime and unique farmlands as a result of construction and use would probably be minor. The extent of soil impacts is not known at this time. Disturbed soils could be revegetated. Vegetation would be subject to disturbance at construction sites, including those of trails, roads, and parking areas.

Animals in construction areas could be temporarily disturbed by equipment and personnel. Migration and use patterns would be expected to reestablish following development. Some mortality of resident individuals, such as rodents, could occur during construction, although this should not negatively affect populations or communities.

Under this alternative, there would probably be minor, indirect effects on overall habitat capacity caused by any new loss of vegetation and food source plants. Forage would be lost due to clearing for trail, road, and parking area construction; areas disturbed but unobstructed would eventually revegetate and be used by wildlife.

Some habitat for small ground- and tree-dwelling mammals and birds would be permanently lost, causing a decrease in the size of local wildlife populations that would be proportional to the habitat lost. Following construction, reclaimed areas should eventually be reinhabited.

Long-term impacts would include habitat fragmentation from increasing development and human use of habitats—especially in previously underdeveloped areas.

The primary water quality concerns associated with new construction are erosion and increased sedimentation affecting nearby waterways. Minor, temporary decreases in water quality would be caused by runoff from bare soils into waterways. Such impacts would generally be short term. Silt deposited in streams and rivers would eventually be moved downstream by natural flushing action. No long-term impacts on water quality would be anticipated under this alternative.

Paved parking areas, trails, and entrance and exit roads would increase the amount of impervious surface, thereby increasing the amount of storm runoff. Normally, the amount of impervious surface would be small in comparison to the size of the local drainage basin; thus, the increase in runoff would also be small.

The operation of heavy equipment would increase the potential for toxic organic compounds to enter local waterways. Accidental spills of diesel fuel, gasoline, hydraulic fluid, or other petroleum-based products could result in elevated but temporary concentrations of these substances. Post-construction water quality changes would be minimal.

Under this alternative, there would be minor, localized, short-term decreases in air quality caused by dust, particulates, fumes, and noise produced by construction equipment during site development. This impact would be minor, because disturbed areas at the development site would be relatively small.

Volatile hydrocarbons and other organic compounds in asphalt would enter the area for a short time after completion of construction.

Under Alternative B, archeological resources would not be afforded additional protection. However; any additional National Register of Historic Places designations developed as part of the alternative could help to protect trail resources. One-third of the trail is on existing federal lands and, where sites and trail segments are on the National Register of Historic Places or potentially eligible for nomination, they would receive some protection under existing federal resource preservation laws. There would be no coordinated trailwide research, protection, stabilization, or management of archeological sites. Protection of significant sites would continue to be the responsibility of local citizens, organizations, tribes, and government agencies. However, use of the commission management option could allow for the additional protection of archeological resources. This would occur because of the potential for assistance in resource protection to non-federal areas. Interpretive materials could inform visitors about the importance of helping to protect archeological sites and resources. This would be limited only to the areas designated as National Recreation Trail(s).

Under this alternative, additional protection for historic and ethnographic resources could occur, with increased recognition of the location of resources and increased interest in the trail on the part of agencies, organizations, and individuals. However, this protection of historic sites would continue to be fragmented and uncoordinated, and in most areas, funding and public education would be variable. However, use of the commission management option could allow for additional protection of historic resources. This would be limited only to the segments included as National Recreation Trail(s).

Under commission management, or with a strong central trail organization, greater emphasis on history could be provided. Many of those following the trail(s) might be interested and read ahead of, during, or after their visit, or turn to such entities as museums and arts for interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail. Localities might be inspired to provide funding in conjunction with presentations such as special events and guidebooks.

Socioeconomic Resources and Land Use

Under this alternative, there might be a modest increase in visitation, with subsequent economic benefits to local communities. Studies have shown that recreational trails can have considerable economic benefits depending on marketing, location, quality, access to population centers, and other factors; thus, it is difficult to project socioeconomic benefits without more information about the specific locations and characteristics of the recreational trail to be developed. The development of new trails, parking areas, and roads could result in economic benefits for local communities through employment, retail trade, and service industry increases. The addition of broad heritage tourism ties could further enhance the benefits of this alternative. Recreational trails in urban and suburban areas can enhance housing values.

Alternative B would not have much impact on the current trends in land uses along the Old Spanish Trail. The incremental conversion of agricultural lands, especially crop, orchard, and pasture—to subdivisions and similar development would likely continue. The rate of this transition would depend on agricultural market trends and changing land values. The development of recreational trails might contribute slightly to increasing local land values. It should be noted that most National Recreation Trails are on government lands, although there are notable, successful trails that involve private lands, at least in part. Rail and trail conversions may be possible in some areas. Federal, state, local, and non-profit agencies working with private owners may be able to develop strategies to protect current land

use. Strategies these groups might be able to employ, depending on their expertise and legal authority, could include technical assistance, cooperative agreements, scenic easements, grants, tax incentives such as preferential assessment, and acquisition of land interests. These actions would have a long-term beneficial effect on the protection of trail and adjacent resources, especially cultural landscapes.

The presence of recreational trails in an area might contribute to the overall attractiveness of the area, especially for retirees and vacationers. This could result in a slight increase in the rate of land conversion in these areas to commercial or residential use. The anticipated gradual increase of visitation to area attractions around trail development could result in an increase in demand for support services such as food, lodging, and gas. This would have minimal impact, if this type of development were part of historic use patterns, but it might have slightly negative impacts if these activities were introduced in areas that had traditionally been undeveloped or used for agriculture.

ALTERNATIVE C: ESTABLISH AN OLD SPANISH TRAIL NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Designation of an Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail could help ensure the protection and interpretation of the trail in a more consistent and coordinated manner. The public and future generation would benefit from the protection of Old Spanish Trail sites and segments. The focus on overall interpretive themes would enable a wide range of the public to appreciate and understand the significance and importance of the Old Spanish Trail. Experience with other National Historic Trails has shown that not all private landowners, organizations, and state and local agencies choose to participate in trail programs, although federal agencies generally do participate. Only those non-federal sites and trail segments for which the owner or managing entity participate in trail programs will tend to benefit from or be impacted by trail programs.

Visitor Use and Experience

Like Alternative B, a wide variety of experiences would be available through Alternative C; however, a major commitment of time would be required to visit the sites and features. Most likely, visitors would follow the trail only in a region or local area. Experiences could vary considerably in quality depending on the degree of coordination along the trail of thematic coordination and overall trail identity.

Under this alternative, people would be able to visit an identifiable geographic area that contains multiple Old Spanish Trail resources, or the entire trail. Agencies, organizations, and so forth would be encouraged to integrate historic and natural resources relating to the primary period of significance of the trail into trail programs.

As in Alternative B, visitors could gain an understanding of how a journey along the Old Spanish Trail might have been. They could see the physical relationship among the routes and water sources, as well as understand the kinds of physical and social challenges that trail travelers encountered. Landscape features such as rivers, forests, deserts, and grasslands could be interpreted and visited by means of routes similar or identical to ones actually taken by travelers on the trail.

Visitor experiences and interpretation at participating National Historic Trail sites would have some consistency in terms of quality of site developments and interpretation. A base level of interpretation of the trail story would be provided to every visitor, with additional site-specific interpretation developed as appropriate. There would be opportunities to visit communities, landscape features, and other resources associated with the trail. Variation from trail area to trail area would be possible because of geographic location and diverse natural and cultural resources and landscapes. Visits to more than one

trail portion would result in a greater understanding of the range and diversity of the story. Each trail segment could present its own unique interpretation. Interpretation of other historic themes would be left to local communities, agencies, and organizations.

Cultural and Natural Resources

The designation of the trail as a National Historic Trail would encourage additional protection of resources through promotion of public interest, stimulation of grassroots management, research regarding the significance of sites and segments, technical assistance in preservation, provisions for public use (where appropriate), and potential funding. Resources on federal lands would receive increased protection, and designation would lead to additional mechanisms, incentives, and opportunities to protect resources on non-federal lands. Designation as a National Historic Trail also would lead to increased public awareness and recognition, which would help to ensure greater protection of resources. People might become more familiar with and connected to their cultural heritage and therefore might be more likely to participate in the protection of the resource.

The designation of the trail would result in increased visitation. With proper management, such an increase would not be likely to cause adverse impacts on trail resources. If visitor facilities and visitor opportunities were expanded without sound planning and effective coordination, there would be a potential for both natural and cultural resources to be adversely affected. Vegetation, wildlife, air and water quality, woodlands, soils, threatened and endangered species, critical habitat, floodplains, wetlands, prime farmlands, and historic and archeological resources could be negatively affected by development and visitors. If developments were considered or proposed for these resource areas, further analysis, under the National Environmental Protection Act, the Historic Preservation Act, and similar laws would be done on a site-specific basis in consultation with affected parties to mitigate any impacts.

Construction of interpretive waysides and signs would have minimal incremental effects on natural resources from the standpoint of acreage disturbed. These small, simple facilities probably could be built within existing rights-of-way or disturbed areas.

Overall impacts on vegetative and wildlife communities would be minimal. If the construction of trail facilities included trails and parking areas, it could displace and disturb soils in and around construction sites. Any adverse impacts on prime and unique farmlands as a result of construction and use would probably be minor. The extent of soil impacts is not known at this time. Disturbed soils could be revegetated. Vegetation would be subject to disturbance at construction sites, including those of trails, roads, and parking areas.

Animals in construction areas could be temporarily disturbed by equipment and personnel. Migration and use patterns would be expected to reestablish following development. Some mortality of resident individuals, such as rodents, could occur during construction, although this should not negatively affect populations or communities.

Under this alternative, there would probably be minor, indirect effects on overall habitat capacity caused by any new loss of vegetation and food source plants. Forage would be lost due to clearing for trail, road, and parking area construction; areas disturbed but unobstructed would eventually revegetate and be used by wildlife.

Some habitat for small ground- and tree-dwelling mammals and birds would be permanently lost, causing a decrease in the size of local wildlife populations that would be proportional to the habitat lost. Following construction, reclaimed areas should eventually be re-inhabited.

Long-term impacts would include habitat fragmentation from increasing development and human use of habitats—especially in previously underdeveloped areas.

The primary water quality concerns associated with new construction are erosion and increased sedimentation affecting nearby waterways. Minor, temporary decreases in water quality would be caused by runoff from bare soils into waterways. Such impacts would generally be short term. Silt deposited in streams and rivers would eventually be moved downstream by natural flushing action. No long-term impacts on water quality would be anticipated under this alternative.

Paved parking areas, trails, and entrance and exit roads would increase the amount of impervious surface, thereby increasing the amount of storm runoff. Normally, the amount of impervious surface would be small in comparison to the size of the local drainage basin; thus, the increase in runoff would also be small.

The operation of heavy equipment would increase the potential for toxic organic compounds to enter local waterways. Accidental spills of diesel fuel, gasoline, hydraulic fluid, or other petroleum-based products could result in elevated but temporary concentrations of these substances. Post-construction water quality changes would be minimal.

Under this alternative, there would be minor, localized, short-term decreases in air quality caused by dust, particulates, fumes, and noise produced by construction equipment during site development. This impact would be minor, because disturbed areas at the development site would be relatively small. Volatile hydrocarbons and other organic compounds in asphalt would enter the area for a short time after completion of construction.

Under this alternative, additional protection for historic, cultural, archeological, and ethnographic resources could occur, with increased recognition of the location of resources and increased interest in the trail on the part of agencies, organizations, and individuals. All trail projects would be subject to compliance with the Historic Preservation Act, and consultation and project review would occur with the State Historic Preservation Officer. Impacts to cultural resources would be avoided or mitigated as appropriate. Consultation would also occur with American Indian tribes to ensure appropriate protection of cultural and religious sites.

The availability of information about trail-related resources might increase the probability that sites could be vandalized and destroyed. Adverse impacts would be avoided through proper site selection, proper design, management of visitor use, law enforcement, site stewardship programs and consultation with state historic preservation offices and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Designation and subsequent certification as a National Historic Trail component would provide the opportunity for landowners and local governments to receive technical assistance in preserving and protection their resources. This would help avert impacts from development and visitors on trail resources on non-federal lands.

Under Alternative C, archeological and historic resources at sites that do not participate in trail programs would not be afforded additional protection, unless a specific federal law mandates consideration of national trail protection. Experience on other National Historic Trails has shown that

with awareness of the existence of the trail, agencies completing Environmental Impact Statements or Environmental Assessments may contact the trail's administering agency. National Register of Historic Places designations developed as part of the alternative could help to protect trail resources. Such nominations may be done, with the owners' consent, even if the owners are not interested in having their sites certified as components of the National Historic Trail. Protection of other significant sites would continue to be the responsibility of local citizens, organizations, tribes, and government agencies.

Socioeconomic Resources and Land Use

Designation of the trail probably would lead to some increase in visitation and tourism revenues. These increases would not necessarily be significant on a regional and statewide scale. Tourism could increase in local communities along the trail corridor. The coordiantion of visitor services an interpretation along the trail could potentially increase tourism, and thus tourism revenues.

The effects on land values resulting from designation would be few and limited. Little land acquisition, if any, would be recommended. Restrictive language in the actual trail designation legislation, as has been used for other National Historic Trails, could limit federal land acquisition to willing sellers only. Some landowners would benefit from the sale of lands and easements. It is possible that local municipalities would prohibit incompatible development that would adversely affect trail resources. Landowners and developers could be adversely affected by such actions of local governments. Owners of adjacent property might benefit from such land use actions. Protected trail segments with recreational values might increase nearby residential property values. In some cases, there could be a loss in property values because of visitor use on adjacent properties. Adverse impacts would be mitigated by involving affected landowners and other interests in the protection of the trail and the natural and cultural landscapes that are near the trail.

CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION

During the preparation of this feasibility study, the National Park Service reviewed the project scope and identified public agencies, organizations, and individuals with interests in the project. Meetings with these public agencies and organizations were used to further refine issues that the study should address, exchange information about related projects and programs, review historical research and alternatives, seek information on sites and routes, and inform agencies of the status and scope of the study. National Park Service and non-National Park Service historians, archeologists, trail researchers, and local informants in the various states were consulted regarding potential resources, and background and significance of the trail. Archeological site records were researched in all six states. Historians reviewed the preliminary draft to ensure accuracy and fairness in discussion of the historical events and places.

At the time of project initiation, letters were sent to American Indian tribes along the route and those with historic ties to lands crossed by the trail requesting their comments. Later in the project, phone calls were made to tribal headquarters to update tribal representatives about project status.

A scoping newsletter was prepared and distributed in February 1998. The newsletter, which included a summary of the purpose and scope of this study and the process used in its preparation, contained a response form to facilitate input and comment. The National Park Service distributed about 500 newsletters, and 318 responses were received.

Almost all of the responses were supportive of the designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail, the protection of resources, and programs to help communities better appreciate their heritage. Typical comments centered upon the need to preserve the trail as a link to our Nation's history, create new recreational opportunities, involve volunteers, enhance academic and educational interest, and help ailing local economies by increasing tourism. Many commentors felt that the trail designation was crucial to acknowledge the diverse character of our national heritage—including Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans—a part of history that had been previously neglected. Two commentors felt that the trail was only of regional, not national, significance, and thus should not be designated

Newsletters and other trail-related information, both hard copy and electronic versions also were sent to all the national parks along the route, and to applicable National Park Service regional office personnel and long-distance trail office staff.

The National Park Service completed and released for public review the first draft of the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study in early Spring 2000. In the ensuing months the National Park Service received 196 responses and review comments. The overwhelming majority of respondents supported designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail. Ten respondents suggested the Old Spanish Trail lacked sufficient documentation or failed to meet the criteria for national significance, and favored commemoration of the trail through local or state efforts.

As part of the review and consultation process, the National Park Service contacted all affected states' historic preservation officers and tribal entities, either by letter or phone. In many cases, contacts were followed by additional phone calls or letters. Only a handful of contacted offices replied, and their responses were compiled and accounted for along with those of the general public.

Most of the respondents voiced general, unqualified support for designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail, without reference to the feasibility study or its findings. In some instances, respondents revealed an unclear understanding of the implications of National Historic Trail designation. In these cases, respondents enthusiastically supported designation as a means of putting the Old Spanish Trail on a federal registry of historic places or historic trails. Some saw it as a means of putting the trail on a federal inventory of historic trails, while others saw the goal as nominating the trail as a national historic landmark. There was also a tendency among some respondents to weigh the benefits of multi-state vs. federal administration of a National Historic Trail. As identified in the feasibility study, National Historic Trail designation is not merely an honorific title. Designation creates a federal program that involves staffing, program management, statutory compliance, and federal expenditure of funds.

A number of responses provided substantive comment, debate, and appraisal on the significance and feasibility of the Old Spanish Trail, and the practice of applying National Trail System and National Historic Landmark criteria to potential National Historic Trails. There were examples of respondents supportive of National Historic Trail designation that made broad claims for significance or pointed to historical activities that occurred on the trail, but failed to provide examples or historical documentation. In almost all cases these assertions were investigated, but unsubstantiated claims were not incorporated into the final study. The substantive comments focused on several critical subjects.

One issue was the application of the National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework. Many respondents felt that by relying first on its 1987 thematic framework, and then on its 1996-Revised Thematic Framework, the National Park Service was enforcing a rigid, exclusionary, and restrictive application of the criteria for national significance of the trail. Moreover, several respondents felt that the National Park Service's used only one theme to determine national significance. Respondents raised questions about whether the National Park Service, by relying on only one theme to identify national significance, ignored its own recommendations found in its Revised Thematic Framework to use multiple themes as a way of exploring the complexities of historic events. The methodology used by the National Park Service, however, was based on the analysis of each theme based on the historic activities that occurred on the trail. Each activity was assessed for its national significance and its relationship to the historic themes. And, while there is no magic, pre-ordained yardstick to measure national significance, the feasibility study team relied on a broadly subjective interpretation of the criteria found in the National Trail System Act which requires that an event must have had "far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture." In consultation with specialists from the National Historic Landmark program, the feasibility study team disagrees with the concept that an accumulation of different activities that represented different themes that individually may have state or local significance together amounted to national significance. After a careful assessment of all the historic activities on the trail and their impacts on the historic evolution of the American, Mexican, and Indian peoples, the feasibility study team found national significance within Theme VII, The Changing Role of the U.S. in the World Community, the topic of commerce, and the National Trail System Act facet of trade and commerce.

Some respondents insisted that the expedition led by John Fremont in 1843-1844 that touched on several portions of the western half of the Old Spanish Trail made the trail nationally significant within the topic of exploration. Nonetheless, the National Park Service maintains that while Fremont's expedition may have been significant, it is the entirety of his expedition, which included significant explorations outside the affected area of the Old Spanish Trail, that must be analyzed comparatively against Fremont's and others' explorations in the western United States. This is a task outside the scope of the feasibility study.

Other respondents disagreed with the National Park Service's determination that migration patterns along the Old Spanish Trail that led to the settlement of New Mexicans and Anglo-Americans in California was not nationally significant within the topic of immigration or the theme of Peopling Places. Respondents also maintained that when, in 1847, Kit Carson carried the first overland dispatches from California to Washington using, in part, the Old Spanish Trail, that activity made the trail nationally significant. The National Park Service stands by its analysis that identifies these activities as having local or state, but not national, significance. It also reasons that a complete analysis of Carson's lifetime achievements is required before the trail could be deemed nationally significant because of its association to this undeniably significant personality.

Respondents also raised questions on the period of significance the National Park Service identified for the trail. Some respondents called for extending the period of significance back in time to recognize the trail's Spanish and Indian antecedents. Others called for including in the period of significance activities that occurred after 1848, such as Mormon activities on the western half of the trail, or military exploration activities on the North Branch. Only those activities that made the trail nationally significant are used to define a period of significance, as explained in the study's Statement of Significance.

Many respondents agreed with the National Park Service's recommendation that additional research needs to be completed for the trail. In fact, several respondents were unsatisfied with the depth of research conducted by the National Park Service. Some respondents recommended additional sources, and some of these sources were included in the final study. A few respondents called for more research to identify additional routes, particularly along the North Branch. The National Park Service recognizes the need for additional research. This study is not an exhaustive analysis of all routes and activities on the trail. Rather, it is designed to determine the trail's feasibility as a National Historic Trail. If designation occurs, then further research may identify additional routes and activities. In this same vein of the need for additional research, a few respondents were unsatisfied with the breadth of the study's assessment of the natural resources that could be impacted by trail designation. The environmental assessment completed for a trail feasibility study is appropriate for this level of planning. If the Old Spanish Trail becomes as national historical trail, then a more comprehensive Environmental Impact Statement will be completed to accompany the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan.

The most important need for additional research is in the topic of the trail's impact on the affected Indian cultures. The National Park Service concurs that the activities that impacted the Indian tribes along and about the trail were national significant. However it also acknowledges several respondents' claims that additional consultation and extensive research would help expand the understanding of just how profound and widespread these impacts were. The feasibility study recommends that this line of investigation should be at the forefront of any research plan for the National Historic Trail.

Other comments pointed to the need to recognize the trail for its intrinsic cultural value because it acted as an avenue of acculturation and opened California to the Mexican and American populations to the east. While California's culture and economy were already well known to many due to extensive contact through maritime channels, additional cultural mixing resulted from the completion of the trade connection between New Mexico and California. This is a subtheme that can be integrated into later national historic trail interpretive programs.

Those respondents who disputed national significance based their claims on several issues. An important consideration some respondents raised was that there was simply insufficient evidence to make a determination of national significance, and several doubted whether the accumulation of data

would ever warrant a claim of national significance. A small group of respondents compared trade on the Old Spanish Trail to that of other Mexico/U.S. commercial trails, such as the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (both National Historic Trails). These respondents found the amount of trade on the Old Spanish Trail to be insignificant in comparison. This was perhaps the most important issue the National Park Service had to address in its analysis of the Old Spanish Trail. There is no benchmark for when a minimum amount of trade becomes nationally significant. Without data to track the amount of trade on the Old Spanish Trail, it was nearly impossible to determine how it affected the frontier provinces in terms of price and profit levels. Nonetheless, the National Park Service ultimately determined that the trade on the Old Spanish Trail was nationally significant and determined that the data available suggested that in some years the horse and mule trade was considerable. More important, the study found that the trade was significant within the context of the evolution of the northern Mexican frontier and the Indian cultures, and the expansion of the U.S. These were unquantifiable impacts that reached the plateau of national significance in trade and commerce.

Finally, a handful of respondents adamantly claimed that the terminology, the "Old Spanish" Trail, is a misnomer, and perpetuates stereotypes about the region and its people. Clearly, the trail was neither old nor Spanish when it was in use. It was completed in 1829, and named the Old Spanish Trail in 1845 by Fremont, when in fact it was at its height of use. During its entire period of significance it was within the Mexican nation. Anglo-Americans popularized the term Old Spanish Trail after 1848. The name has come into common use and is now considered the appropriate name for the trail.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT

[See Section 5 (c) (38) for specific language about the Old Spanish Trail)

NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT
Public Law 90-543
(16 U.S.C. 1241 et seq.)
as amended
through P.L. 104-333, November 12, 1996

AN ACT

To establish a National Trails System, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Trails System Act."

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) In order to provide for the ever-increasing outdoor recreation needs of an expanding population and in order to promote the preservation of, public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the open-air, outdoor areas and historic resources of the Nation, trails should be established (i) primarily, near the urban areas of the Nation, and (ii) secondarily, within scenic areas and along historic travel routes of the Nation which are often more remotely located.

(b) The purpose of this Act is to provide the means for attaining these objectives by instituting a national system of recreation, scenic and historic trails, by designating the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail as the initial components of that system, and by prescribing the methods by which, and standards according to which, additional components may be added to the system.

(c) The Congress recognizes the valuable contributions that volunteers and private, nonprofit trail groups have made to the development and maintenance of the Nation's trails. In recognition of these contributions, it is further the purpose of this Act to encourage and assist volunteer citizen involvement in the planning, development, maintenance, and management, where appropriate, of trails.

NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM

SEC. 3. (a) The national system of trails shall be composed of the following:

(1) National recreation trails, established as provided in section 4 of this Act, which will provide a variety of outdoor recreation uses in or reasonably accessible to urban areas.

(2) National scenic trails, established as provided in section 5 of this Act, which will be extended trails so located as to provide for maximum outdoor recreation potential and for the conservation and enjoyment of the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural, or cultural qualities of the areas through which such trails may pass. National scenic trails may be located so as to represent desert, marsh, grassland, mountain, canyon, river, forest, and other areas, as well as landforms, which exhibit significant characteristics of the physiographic regions of the Nation.

(3) National Historic Trails, established as provided in section 5 of this Act, which will be extended trails which follow as closely as possible and practicable the original trails or routes of travel of national historic significance. Designation of such trails or routes shall be continuous, but the established or developed trail, and the acquisition

thereof, need not be continuous onsite. National Historic Trails shall have as their purpose the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment. Only those selected land and water based components of a historic trail which are on federally owned lands and which meet the National Historic Trail criteria established in this Act are included as Federal protection components of a National Historic Trail. The appropriate Secretary may certify other lands as protected segments of an historic trail upon application from State or local governmental agencies or private interests involved if such segments meet the National Historic Trail criteria established in this Act and such criteria supplementary thereto as the appropriate Secretary may prescribe, and are administered by such agencies or interests without expense to the United States.

(4) Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation, national scenic or National Historic Trails or which will provide connections between such trails.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker for the National Trails System.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term 'extended trails' means trails or trail segments which total at least one hundred miles in length, except that historic trails of less than one hundred miles may be designated as extended trails. While it is desirable that extended trails be continuous, studies of such trails may conclude that it is feasible to propose one or more trail segments which, in the aggregate, constitute at least one hundred miles in length.

(c) On October 1, 1982, and at the beginning of each odd numbered fiscal year thereafter, the Secretary of the Interior shall submit to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and to the President of the United States Senate, an initial and revised (respectively) National Trails System plan. Such comprehensive plan shall indicate the scope and extent of a completed nationwide system of trails, to include (1) desirable nationally significant scenic and historic components which are considered necessary to complete a comprehensive national system, and (2) other trails which would balance out a complete and comprehensive nationwide system of trails. Such plan, and the periodic revisions thereto, shall be prepared in full consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Governors of the various States, and the trails community.

NATIONAL RECREATION TRAILS

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of the Interior, or the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, may establish and designate national recreation trails, with the consent of the Federal agency, State, or political subdivision having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon finding that--

(i) such trails are reasonably accessible to urban areas, and, or

(ii) such trails meet the criteria established in this Act and such supplementary criteria as he may prescribe.

(b) As provided in this section, trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture or in other federally administered areas may be established and designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the appropriate Secretary and, when no Federal land acquisition is involved--

(i) trails in or reasonably accessible to urban areas may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the appropriate Secretary with the consent of the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies;

(ii) trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas owned or administered by States may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the appropriate Secretary with the consent of the State; and

(iii) trails on privately owned lands may be designated 'National Recreation Trails' by the appropriate Secretary with the written consent of the owner of the property involved.

NATIONAL SCENIC AND NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAILS

SEC. 5. (a) National scenic and National Historic Trails shall be authorized and designated only by Act of Congress. There are hereby established the following National Scenic and National Historic Trails:

[paragraphs naming 20 trails have been deleted]

(b) The Secretary of the Interior, through the agency most likely to administer such trail, and the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, shall make such additional studies as are herein or may hereafter be authorized by the Congress for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic or National Historic Trails. Such studies shall be made in consultation with the heads of other Federal agencies administering lands through which such additional proposed trails would pass and in cooperation with interested interstate, State, and local governmental agencies, public and private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned. The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether or not it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible. The studies listed in subsection (c) of this section shall be completed and submitted to the Congress, with recommendations as to the suitability of trail designation, not later than three complete fiscal years from the date of enactment of their addition to this subsection, or from the date of enactment of this sentence, whichever is later. Such studies, when submitted, shall be printed as a House or Senate document, and shall include, but not be limited to:

(1) the proposed route of such trail (including maps and illustrations);

(2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be utilized for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental, purposes;

(3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or National Historic Trail; and in the case of National Historic Trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461);

(4) the current status of land ownership and current and potential use along the designated route;

(5) the estimated cost of acquisition of lands or interest in lands, if any;

(6) the plans for developing and maintaining the trail and the cost thereof;

(7) the proposed Federal administering agency (which, in the case of a national scenic trail wholly or substantially within a national forest, shall be the Department of Agriculture);

(8) the extent to which a State or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary lands and in the administration thereof;

(9) the relative uses of the lands involved, including: the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such trail; the number of months which such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision, and regulation of such trail;

(10) the anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed National Historic Trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historic significance; and

(11) To qualify for designation as a National Historic Trail, a trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately

follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.

(B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.

(C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

(c) The following routes shall be studied in accordance with the objectives outlined in subsection (b) of this section.

[paragraphs naming 37 trails have been deleted]

(38) The Old Spanish Trail, beginning in Santa Fe, New Mexico, proceeding through Colorado and Utah, and ending in Los Angeles, California, and the Northern Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, beginning near Española, New Mexico, proceeding through Colorado, and ending near Crescent Junction, Utah.

[a paragraph naming 1 trail has been deleted]

(d) The Secretary charged with the administration of each respective trail shall, within one year of the date of the addition of any national scenic or National Historic Trail to the system, and within sixty days of the enactment of this sentence for the Appalachian and Pacific Crest National Scenic Trails, establish an advisory council for each such trail, each of which councils shall expire ten years from the date of its establishment, except that the Advisory Council established for the Iditarod Historic Trail shall expire twenty years from the date of its establishment. If the appropriate Secretary is unable to establish such an advisory council because of the lack of adequate public interest, the Secretary shall so advise the appropriate committees of the Congress. The appropriate Secretary shall consult with such council from time to time with respect to matters relating to the trail, including the selection of rights-of-way, standards for the erection and maintenance of markers along the trail, and the administration of the trail. The members of each advisory council, which shall not exceed thirty-five in number, shall serve for a term of two years and without compensation as such, but the Secretary may pay, upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the council, the expenses reasonably incurred by the council and its members in carrying out their responsibilities under this section. Members of each council shall be appointed by the appropriate Secretary as follows:

(1) the head of each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes, or his designee;

(2) a member appointed to represent each State through which the trail passes, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the Governors of such States;

(3) one or more members appointed to represent private organizations, including corporate and individual landowners and land users, which in the opinion of the Secretary, have an established and recognized interest in the trail, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the heads of such organizations: Provided, That the Appalachian Trail Conference shall be represented by a sufficient number of persons to represent the various sections of the country through which the Appalachian Trail passes; and

(4) the Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman and shall fill vacancies in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) Within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of legislation designating a national scenic trail, except for the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail and the North Country National Scenic Trail, as part of the system, and within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of this subsection for the Pacific Crest and

Appalachian Trails, the responsible Secretary shall, after full consultation with affected Federal land managing agencies, the Governors of the affected States, the relevant advisory council established pursuant to section 5(d), and the Appalachian Trail Conference in the case of the Appalachian Trail, submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, a comprehensive plan for the acquisition, management, development, and use of the trail, including but not limited to, the following items:

(1) specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved (along with high potential historic sites and high potential route segments in the case of National Historic Trails), details of anticipated cooperative agreements to be consummated with other entities, and an identified carrying capacity of the trail and a plan for its implementation;

(2) an acquisition or protection plan, by fiscal year, for all lands to be acquired by fee title or lesser interest, along with detailed explanation of anticipated necessary cooperative agreements for any lands not to be acquired; and

(3) general and site-specific development plans including anticipated costs.

(f) Within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of legislation designating a National Historic Trail or the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail or the North Country National Scenic Trail as part of the system, the responsible Secretary shall, after full consultation with affected Federal land managing agencies, the Governors of the affected States, and the relevant Advisory Council established pursuant to section 5(d) of this Act, submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, a comprehensive plan for the management, and use of the trail, including but not limited to, the following items:

(1) specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved, details of any anticipated cooperative agreements to be consummated with State and local government agencies or private interests, and for national scenic or National Historic Trails an identified carrying capacity of the trail and a plan for its implementation;

(2) the process to be followed by the appropriate Secretary to implement the marking requirements established in section 7(c) of this Act;

(3) a protection plan for any high potential historic sites or high potential route segments; and

(4) general and site-specific development plans, including anticipated costs.

CONNECTING AND SIDE TRAILS

SEC. 6. Connecting or side trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or Secretary of Agriculture may be established, designated, and marked by the appropriate Secretary as components of a national recreation, national scenic or National Historic Trail. When no Federal land acquisition is involved, connecting or side trails may be located across lands administered by interstate, State, or local governmental agencies with their consent, or, where the appropriate Secretary deems necessary or desirable, on privately owned lands with the consent of the landowners. Applications for approval and designation of connecting and side trails on non-Federal lands shall be submitted to the appropriate Secretary.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 7. (a)(1)(A) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of a trail pursuant to section 5(a) shall, in administering and managing the trail, consult with the heads of all other affected State and Federal agencies. Nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed to transfer among Federal agencies any management responsibilities established under any other law for federally administered lands which are components of the National Trails System. Any transfer of management responsibilities may be carried out between the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture only as provided under subparagraph (B).

(B) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of any trail pursuant to section 5(a) may transfer management of any specified trail segment of such trail to the other appropriate Secretary pursuant to a joint

memorandum of agreement containing such terms and conditions as the Secretaries consider most appropriate to accomplish the purposes of this Act. During any period in which management responsibilities for any trail segment are transferred under such an agreement, the management of any such segment shall be subject to the laws, rules, and regulations of the Secretary provided with the management authority under the agreement except to such extent as the agreement may otherwise expressly provide.

(2) Pursuant to section 5(a), the appropriate Secretary shall select the rights-of-way for national scenic and National Historic Trails and shall publish notice thereof of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions in the Federal Register; Provided, That in selecting the rights-of-way full consideration shall be given to minimizing the adverse effects upon the adjacent landowner or user and his operation. Development and management of each segment of the National Trails System shall be designed to harmonize with and complement any established multiple-use plans for the specific area in order to insure continued maximum benefits from the land. The location and width of such rights-of-way across Federal lands under the jurisdiction of another Federal agency shall be by agreement between the head of that agency and the appropriate Secretary. In selecting rights-of-way for trail purposes, the Secretary shall obtain the advice and assistance of the States, local governments, private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned.

(b) After publication of notice of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions in the Federal Register, the Secretary charged with the administration of a national scenic or National Historic Trail may relocate segments of a national scenic or National Historic Trail right-of-way, with the concurrence of the head of the Federal agency having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon a determination that: (i) Such a relocation is necessary to preserve the purposes for which the trail was established, or (ii) the relocation is necessary to promote a sound land management program in accordance with established multiple-use principles: Provided, That a substantial relocation of the rights--of-way for such trail shall be by Act of Congress.

(c) National scenic or National Historic Trails may contain campsites, shelters, and related-public-use facilities. Other uses along the trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, may be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail. Reasonable efforts shall be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to such trails and, to the extent practicable, efforts be made to avoid activities incompatible with the purposes for which such trails were established. The use of motorized vehicles by the general public along any national scenic trail shall be prohibited and nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the use of motorized vehicles within the natural and historical areas of the national park system, the national wildlife refuge system, the national wilderness preservation system where they are presently prohibited or on other Federal lands where trails are designated as being closed to such use by the appropriate Secretary: Provided, That the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall establish regulations which shall authorize the use of motorized vehicles when, in his judgment, such vehicles are necessary to meet emergencies or to enable adjacent landowners or land users to have reasonable access to their lands or timber rights: Provided further, That private lands included in the national recreation, national scenic, or National Historic Trails by cooperative agreement of a landowner shall not preclude such owner from using motorized vehicles on or across such trails or adjacent lands from time to time in accordance with regulations to be established by the appropriate Secretary. Where a National Historic Trail follows existing public roads, developed rights-of-way or waterways, and similar features of man's non-historically related development, approximating the original location of a historic route, such segments may be marked to facilitate retracement of the historic route, and where a National Historic Trail parallels an existing public road, such road may be marked to commemorate the historic route. Other uses along the historic trails and the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, and which, at the time of designation, are allowed by administrative regulations, including the use of motorized vehicles, shall be permitted by the Secretary charged with administration of the trail. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker, including thereon an appropriate and distinctive symbol for each national recreation, national scenic, and National Historic Trail. Where the trails cross lands administered by Federal agencies such markers shall be erected at appropriate points along the trails and maintained by the Federal agency administering the trail in accordance with standards established by the appropriate Secretary and where the trails cross non-Federal lands, in accordance with written cooperative agreements, the appropriate Secretary shall provide such uniform markers to cooperating agencies and shall require such agencies to erect and maintain them in accordance with the standards established. The appropriate Secretary may also provide for trail interpretation sites, which shall be located at historic sites along the route of any national scenic or National Historic Trail, in order to present information to the public about the trail, at the lowest possible cost, with emphasis on the portion of the trail passing through the State in which the site is located. Wherever possible, the sites shall be maintained by a State agency under a cooperative agreement between the appropriate Secretary and the State agency.

(d) Within the exterior boundaries of areas under their administration that are included in the right-of-way selected for a national recreation, national scenic, or National Historic Trail, the heads of Federal agencies may use lands for trail purposes and may acquire lands or interests in lands by written cooperative agreement, donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange.

(e) Where the lands included in a national scenic or National Historic Trail right-of-way are outside of the exterior boundaries of federally administered areas, the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall encourage the States or local governments involved (1) to enter into written cooperative agreements with landowners, private organizations, and individuals to provide the necessary trail right-of-way, or (2) to acquire such lands or interests therein to be utilized as segments of the national scenic or National Historic Trail: Provided, That if the State or local governments fail to enter into such written cooperative agreements or to acquire such lands or interests therein after notice of the selection of the right-of-way is published, the appropriate Secretary, may (i) enter into such agreements with landowners, States, local governments, private organizations, and individuals for the use of lands for trail purposes, or (ii) acquire private lands or interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange in accordance with the provisions of subsection (f) of this section: Provided further, That the appropriate Secretary may acquire lands or interests therein from local governments or governmental corporations with the consent of such entities. The lands involved in such rights-of-way should be acquired in fee, if other methods of public control are not sufficient to assure their use for the purpose for which they are acquired: Provided, That if the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail permanently relocates the right-of-way and disposes of all title or interest in the land, the original owner, or his heirs or assigns, shall be offered, by notice given at the former owner's last known address, the right of first refusal at the fair market price.

(f)(1) The Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may accept title to any non-Federal property within the right-of-way and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which is located in the State wherein such property is located and which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require. The Secretary of Agriculture, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may utilize authorities and procedures available to him in connection with exchanges of national forest lands.

(2) In acquiring lands or interests therein for a National Scenic or Historic Trail, the appropriate Secretary may, with consent of a landowner, acquire whole tracts notwithstanding that parts of such tracts may lie outside the area of trail acquisition. In furtherance of the purposes of this act, lands so acquired outside the area of trail acquisition may be exchanged for any non-Federal lands or interests therein within the trail right-of-way, or disposed of in accordance with such procedures or regulations as the appropriate Secretary shall prescribe, including: (i) provisions for conveyance of such acquired lands or interests therein at not less than fair market value to the highest bidder, and (ii) provisions for allowing the last owners of record a right to purchase said acquired lands or interests therein upon payment or agreement to pay an amount equal to the highest bid price. For lands designated for exchange or disposal, the appropriate Secretary may convey these lands with any reservations or covenants deemed desirable to further the purposes of this Act. The proceeds from any disposal shall be credited to the appropriation bearing the costs of land acquisition for the affected trail.

(g) The appropriate Secretary may utilize condemnation proceedings without the consent of the owner to acquire private lands or interests, therein pursuant to this section only in cases where, in his judgment, all reasonable efforts to acquire such lands or interest therein by negotiation have failed, and in such cases he shall acquire only such title as, in his judgment, is reasonably necessary to provide passage across such lands: Provided, That condemnation proceedings may not be utilized to acquire fee title or lesser interests to more than an average of one hundred and twenty-five acres per mile. Money appropriated for Federal purposes from the land and water conservation fund shall, without prejudice to appropriations from other sources, be available to Federal departments for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands for the purposes of this Act. For National Historic Trails, direct Federal acquisition for trail purposes shall be limited to those areas indicated by the study report or by the comprehensive plan as high potential route segments or high potential historic sites. Except for designated protected components of the trail, no land or site located along a designated National Historic Trail or along the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail shall be subject to the provisions of section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (49 U.S.C. 1653(f)) unless such land or site is deemed to be of historical significance under appropriate historical site criteria such as those for the National Register of Historic Places.

(h)(1) The Secretary charged with the administration of a national recreation, national scenic, or National Historic Trail shall provide for the development and maintenance of such trails within federally administered areas and shall cooperate with and encourage the States to operate, develop, and maintain portions of such trails which are located outside the boundaries of federally administered areas. When deemed to be in the public interest, such Secretary may enter written cooperative agreements with the States or their political subdivisions, landowners, private organizations, or individuals to operate, develop, and maintain any portion of such a trail either within or outside a federally administered area. Such agreements may include provisions for limited financial assistance to encourage participation in the acquisition, protection, operation, development, or maintenance of such trails, provisions providing volunteer in the park or volunteer in the forest status (in accordance with the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969 and the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972) to individuals, private organizations, or landowners participating in such activities, or provisions of both types. The appropriate Secretary shall also initiate consultations with affected States and their political subdivisions to encourage--

(A) the development and implementation by such entities of appropriate measures to protect private landowners from trespass resulting from trail use and from unreasonable personal liability and property damage caused by trail use, and

(B) the development and implementation by such entities of provisions for land practices, compatible with the purposes of this Act,

lor property within or adjacent to trail rights-of-way. After consulting with States and their political subdivisions under the preceding sentence, the Secretary may provide assistance to such entities under appropriate cooperative agreements in the manner provided by this subsection.

(2) Whenever the Secretary of the Interior makes any conveyance of land under any of the public land laws, he may reserve a right-of-way for trails to the extent he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(i) The appropriate Secretary, with the concurrence of the heads of any other Federal agencies administering lands through which a national recreation, national scenic, or National Historic Trail passes, and after consultation with the States, local governments, and organizations concerned, may issue regulations, which may be revised from time to time, governing the use, protection, management, development, and administration of trails of the National Trails System. In order to maintain good conduct on and along the trails located within federally administered areas and to provide for the proper government and protection of such trails, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe and publish such uniform regulations as they deem necessary and any person who violates such regulations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished by a fine of not more $500, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment. The Secretary responsible for the administration of any segment of any component of the National Trails System (as determined in a manner consistent with subsection (a)(1) of this section) may also utilize authorities related to units of the national park system or the national forest system, as the case may be, in carrying out his administrative responsibilities for such component.

(j) Potential trail uses allowed on designated components of the National Trails System may include, but are not limited to, the following: bicycling, cross-country skiing, day hiking, equestrian activities, jogging or similar fitness activities, trail biking, overnight and long-distance backpacking, snowmobiling, and surface water and underwater activities. Vehicles which may be permitted on certain trails may include, but need not be limited to, motorcycles, bicycles, four-wheel drive or all-terrain off-road vehicles. In addition, trail access for handicapped individuals may be provided. The provisions of this subsection shall not supersede any other provisions of this Act or other Federal laws, or any State or local laws.

(k) For the conservation purpose of preserving or enhancing the recreational, scenic, natural, or historical values of components of the National Trails System, and environs thereof as determined by the appropriate Secretary, landowners are authorized to donate or otherwise convey qualified real property interests to qualified organizations consistent with section 170(h)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, including, but not limited to, right-of-way, open space, scenic, or conservation easements, without regard to any limitation on the nature of the estate or interest otherwise transferable within the jurisdiction where the land is located. The conveyance of any such interest in land in accordance with this subsection shall be deemed to further a Federal conservation policy and yield a significant public benefit for purposes of section 6 of Public Law 96-541.

STATE AND METROPOLITAN AREA TRAILS

SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plans and proposals for financial assistance for State and local projects submitted pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, needs and opportunities for establishing park, forest, and other recreation and historic trails on lands owned or administered by States, and recreation and historic trails on lands in or near urban areas. The Secretary is also directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide historic preservation plans and proposals for financial assistance for State, local, and private projects submitted pursuant to the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 915), as amended, needs and opportunities for establishing historic trails. He is further directed in accordance with the authority contained in the Act of May 28, 1963 (77 Stat. 49), to encourage States, political subdivisions, and private interests, including nonprofit organizations, to establish such trails.

(b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is directed, in administering the program of comprehensive urban planning and assistance under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, to encourage the planning of recreation trails in connection with the recreation and transportation planning for metropolitan and other urban areas. He is further directed, in administering the urban openspace program under title VII of the Housing Act of 1961, to encourage such recreation trails.

(c) The Secretary of Agriculture is directed, in accordance with authority vested in him, to encourage States and local agencies and private interests to establish such trails.

(d) The Secretary of Transportation, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Secretary of the Interior, in administering the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976, shall encourage State and local agencies and private interests to establish appropriate trails using the provisions of such programs. Consistent with the purposes of that Act, and in furtherance of the national policy to preserve established railroad rights-of-way for future reactivation of rail service, to protect rail transportation corridors, and to encourage energy efficient transportation use, in the case of interim use of any established railroad rights-of-way pursuant to donation, transfer, lease, sale, or otherwise in a manner consistent with the National Trails System Act, if such interim use is subject to restoration or reconstruction for railroad purposes, such interim use shall not be treated, for purposes of any law or rule of law, as an abandonment of the use of such rights-of-way for railroad purposes. If a State, political subdivision, or qualified private organization is prepared to assume full responsibility for management of such rights-of-way and for any legal liability arising out of such transfer or use, and for the payment of any and all taxes that may be levied or assessed against such rights-of-way, then the Commission shall impose such terms and conditions as a requirement of any transfer or conveyance for interim use in a manner consistent with this Act, and shall not permit abandonment or discontinuance inconsistent or disruptive of such use.

(e) Such trails may be designated and suitably marked as parts of the nationwide system of trails by the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

RIGHTS-OF-WAY AND OTHER PROPERTIES

SEC. 9. (a) The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture as the case may be, may grant easements and rights-of-way upon, over, under, across, or along any component of the National Trails System in accordance with the laws applicable to the national park system and the national forest system, respectively: Provided, That any conditions contained in such easements and rights-of-way shall be related to the policy and purposes of this Act.

(b) The Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and other Federal agencies having jurisdiction or control over or information concerning the use, abandonment, or disposition of roadways, utility rights-of-way, or other properties which may be suitable for the purpose of improving or expanding the National Trails System shall cooperate with the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in order to assure, to the extent practicable, that any such properties having values suitable for trail purposes may be made available for such use.

(c) Commencing upon the date of enactment of this subsection, any and all right, title, interest, and estate of the United States in all rights-of-way of the type described in the Act of March 8, 1922 (43 U.S.C. 912), shall remain in the United States upon the abandonment or forfeiture of such rights-of-way, or portions thereof, except to the extent that

any such right-of-way, or portion thereof, is embraced within a public highway no later than one year after a determination of abandonment or forfeiture, as provided under such Act.

(d)(1) All rights-of-way, or portions thereof, retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c) which are located within the boundaries of a conservation system unit or a National Forest shall be added to and incorporated within such unit or National Forest and managed in accordance with applicable provisions of law, including this Act.

(2) All such retained rights-of-way, or portions thereof, which are located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or a National Forest but adjacent to or contiguous with any portion of the public lands shall be managed pursuant to the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 and other applicable law, including this section.

(3) All such retained rights-of-way, or portions thereof, which are located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or National Forest which the Secretary of the Interior determines suitable for use as a public recreational trail or other recreational purposes shall be managed by the Secretary for such uses, as well as for such other uses as the Secretary determines to be appropriate pursuant to applicable laws, as long as such uses do not preclude trail use.

(e)(1) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized where appropriate to release and quitclaim to a unit of government or to another entity meeting the requirements of this subsection any and all right, title, and interest in the surface estate of any portion of any right-of-way to the extent any such right, title, and interest was retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c), if such portion is not located within the boundaries of any conservation system unit or National Forest. Such release and quitclaim shall be made only in response to an application therefor by a unit of State or local government or another entity which the Secretary of the Interior determines to be legally and financially qualified to manage the relevant portion for public recreational purposes. Upon receipt of such an application, the Secretary shall publish a notice concerning such application in a newspaper of general circulation in the area where the relevant portion is located. Such release and quitclaim shall be on the following conditions:

(A) If such unit or entity attempts to sell, convey, or otherwise transfer such right, title, or interest or attempts to permit the use of any part of such portion for any purpose incompatible with its use for public recreation, then any and all right, title, and interest released and quitclaimed by the Secretary pursuant to this subsection shall revert to the United States.

(B) Such unit or entity shall assume full responsibility and hold the United States harmless for any legal liability which might arise with respect to the transfer, possession, use, release, or quitclaim of such right-of-way.

(C) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the United States shall be under no duty to inspect such portion prior to such release and quitclaim, and shall incur no legal liability with respect to any hazard or any unsafe condition existing on such portion at the time of such release and quitclaim.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to sell any portion of a right-of-way retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c) located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or National Forest if any such portion is--

(A) not adjacent to or contiguous with any portion of the public lands; or

(B) determined by the Secretary, pursuant to the disposal criteria established by section 203 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, to be suitable for sale.

Prior to conducting any such sale, the Secretary shall take appropriate steps to afford a unit of State or local government or any other entity an opportunity to seek to obtain such portion pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(3) All proceeds from sales of such retained rights of way shall be deposited into the Treasury of the United States and credited to the Land and Water Conservation Fund as provided in section 2 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965.

(4) The Secretary of the Interior shall annually report to the Congress the total proceeds from sales under paragraph (2) during the preceding fiscal year. Such report shall be included in the President's annual budget submitted to the Congress.

(f) As used in this section--

(1) The term "conservation system unit" has the same meaning given such term in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (Public Law 96-487; 94 Stat. 2371 et seq.), except that such term shall also include units outside Alaska.

(2) The term "public lands" has the same meaning given such term in the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 10. (a)(1) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands not more than $5,000,000 for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail and not more than $500,000 for the Pacific Crest National Scenic Trail. From the appropriations authorized for fiscal year 1979 and succeeding fiscal years pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act (78 Stat. 897), as amended, not more than the following amounts may be expended for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands authorized to be acquired pursuant to the provisions of this Act: for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail, not to exceed $30,000,000 for fiscal year 1979, $30,000,000 for fiscal year 1980, and $30,000,000 for fiscal year 1981, except that the difference between the foregoing amounts and the actual appropriations in any one fiscal year shall be available for appropriation in subsequent fiscal years.

(2) It is the express intent of the Congress that the Secretary should substantially complete the land acquisition program necessary to insure the protection of the Appalachian Trail within three complete fiscal years following the date of enactment of this sentence. Until the entire acquisition program is completed, he shall transmit in writing at the close of each fiscal year the following information to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives:

(A) the amount of land acquired during the fiscal year and the amount expended therefor;

(B) the estimated amount of land remaining to be acquired; and

(C) the amount of land planned for acquisition in the ensuing fiscal year and the estimated cost thereof.

(b) For the purposes of Public Law 95-42 (91 Stat. 211), the lands and interests therein acquired pursuant to this section shall be deemed to qualify for funding under the provisions of section 1, clause 2, of said Act.

(c)(1) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to implement the provisions of this Act relating to the trails designated by paragraphs 5(a)(3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9) and (10): Provided, That no such funds are authorized to be appropriated prior to October 1, 1978: And provided further, That notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act or any other provisions of law, no funds may be expended by Federal agencies for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands outside the exterior boundaries of existing Federal areas for the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, the North Country National Scenic Trail, The Ice Age National Scenic Trail, the Oregon National Historic Trail, the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and the Iditarod National Historic Trail, except that funds may be expended for the acquisition of lands or interests therein for the purpose of providing for one trail interpretation site, as described in section 7(c), along with such trail in each State crossed by the trail.

(2) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, there is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to implement the provisions of this Act relating to the trails designated by section 5(a). Not more than $500,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of acquisition of land and interests therein for the trail designated by section 5(a)(12) of this Act, and not more than $2,000,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of the development of such trail. The administrating agency for the trail shall encourage volunteer trail groups to participate in the development of the trail.

VOLUNTEER TRAILS ASSISTANCE

SEC. 11. (a)(1) In addition to the cooperative agreement and other authorities contained in this Act, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the head of any Federal agency administering Federal lands, are authorized to encourage volunteers and volunteer organizations to plan, develop, maintain, and manage, where appropriate, trails throughout the Nation.

(2) Wherever appropriate in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the Secretaries are authorized and encouraged to utilize the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969, the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972, and section 6 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (relating to the development of Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plans).

(b) Each Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency, may assist volunteers and volunteers organizations in planning, developing, maintaining, and managing trails. Volunteer work may include, but need not be limited to--

(1) planning, developing, maintaining, or managing (A) trails which are components of the National Trails System, or (B) trails which, if so developed and maintained, could qualify for designation as components of the National Trails System; or

(2) operating programs to organize and supervise volunteer trail building efforts with respect to the trails referred to in paragraph (1), conducting trail-related research projects, or providing education and training to volunteers on methods of trails planning, construction, and maintenance.

(c) The appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency may utilize and make available Federal facilities, equipment, tools, and technical assistance to volunteers and volunteer organizations, subject to such limitations and restrictions as the appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency deems necessary or desirable.

SEC. 12. As used in this Act:

(1) The term "high potential historic sites" means those historic sites related to the route, or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion.

(2) The term "high potential route segments" means those segments of a trail which would afford high quality recreation experience in a portion of the route having greater than average scenic values or affording an opportunity to vicariously share the experience of the original users of a historic route.

(3) The term "State" means each of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and any other territory or possession of the United States.

(4) The term "without expense to the United States" means that no funds may be expended by Federal agencies for the development of trail related facilities or for the acquisition of lands or interest in lands outside the exterior boundaries of Federal areas. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, amounts made available to any State or political subdivision under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 or any other provision of law shall not be treated as an expense to the United States.

APPENDIX B: EXPEDITION CHRONOLOGY BETWEEN NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA

1829

November 6 -- Antonio Armijo and 60 men leave from Abiquiú, New Mexico, for California and arrive there after 86 days of travel. They took trade blankets and serapes to trade for 100 horses and mules and followed a route across Northern Arizona and Southern Utah, arriving at San Gabriel, California on January 30, 1830.

1830

José Antonio Chávez de Vaca leads an expedition in 1830 to California but is denied entrance to Los Angeles by authorities.

Gregorio Montoya arrives in California from New Mexico in 1830.

Wolfskill and Yount and 20 trappers leave New Mexico in September 1830 and arrive in California in February 1831. They apparently followed portions of the route of Domínguez and Escalante on their way to California.

April 25 -- Antonio Armijo returns to New Mexico.

June 30 -- Alberto Gilber of Belen buys horses in northern California to take back to New Mexico.

1831

March 31 -- California official complains of horse thieves from New Mexico.

April 23 -- Antonio Santi-Estevan and 30 men from New Mexico trade wool for livestock in California. The exact route of this trip is unclear.

May 6 -- Franco de Fouri, Bautista Saint-German, Bautista Guerra, Zacarias Ham, Luís Burton, Samuel Shields, Zebedia Branch, and Juan Lober arrive in California. Hafen and Hafen list these individuals as being with Wolkskill and Yount.

1832

Friar Cabot of Mission San Miguel reports that New Mexicans traded wool for horses in California; he also claimed that Mission San Miguel had 108 horses and mules stolen and that at the Rancho of Asunción had reported four colts and a mule stolen.

August 13 -- Santiago Martín goes to California from New Mexico with 15 men. Hipolito Espinosa (later a settler of Agua Mansa) is with the party. No documentation found for other caravans during this year.

1833

Juan de Jesus "Chino Pando" Villalpando leads an expedition from New Mexico to California by way of the Animas River Route on the "Camino de Nuevo Mexico" or "Road to New Mexico."

Californio Antonio Avila and five men inspect returning New Mexicans' herds of sheep, horses and mules bound for New Mexico.

February 2 -- Felipe Lugo and 12 men try to catch up with New Mexicans who had stolen animals from California. They were traveling on the "*Camino de Nuevo Mexico*" or the "Road to New Mexico."

February 26 -- Jesus Uzeta, Perfecto Archuleta, and Tomás Salazar from New Mexico steal 430 animals from California and were reported bound for New Mexico.

October 27 -- José Avieta and 125 men with serapes leave New Mexico for California arriving in Los Angeles on December 24,1833.

1834

Jacob Leese and nine men leave California with 450 horses and mules, lose all but 27 animals to Indians, and return to California. A few days earlier, a party of 19 traders encountered Indians while returning from California to New Mexico and five were killed.

January 21 -- José Avieta and 124 men from New Mexico arrive in California and trade 1,654 serapes, 341 blankets, 171 bedspreads, and other items such as wool for horses in California. They refused to pay the *alcabala*, a tax on trade, manifesting a copy of the Decreto de 1830, which they claimed exempted them from the charge. Some of his men went as far north as San José, where they are thought to have been stealing horses.

1835-1836

A December 2, 1837, *Sandwich Islands Gazette* story refers to New Mexicans in California "for a number of years past." This may indicate that New Mexicans continued coming to California during 1835-1836.

1837

William Pope and Isaac Slover travel to California by way of the North Branch with wagons.

January 16 -- Party of 30 men led by Jean Baptiste Chalifoux enters California from New Mexico arriving at San Gabriel. Chalifoux steals 1,400 to 1,500 California mules and horses and returns to New Mexico.

April -- José María Chávez and his brother Julian Chávez with family members and several others escape New Mexico by way of Utah to California. They had been singled out for execution for siding with Governor Albino Perez who was slain in the New Mexico Rebellion of 1837. A year later, on March 24, 1838, José María Chávez and his New Mexicans, known by the *Californios* as the "*Yegueros*," found themselves on the rebel side of a California rebellion at the Battle of San

Buenaventura, an old mission site, and were captured by government forces under General José Castro. They were later released. José María returned to New Mexico and continued trading in the Utah country into the 1850s; and, Julian remained in California settling Chávez Ravine in Los Angeles, site of the modern Dodger Stadium (see 1840).

October 17 to February 1838 -- John Wolfskill and 33 people travel from New Mexico to California.

December 2 -- The *Sandwich Islands Gazette* carries a story on New Mexican caravans in California and reports that they had come there "for a number of years past." The story deals with how New Mexicans rendezvous in the Tulares and influence Indians to raid California for mules and horses so that they can trade them to New Mexicans.

1838

José Antonio García leaves Abiquiú in 1838 for California. He later returned to New Mexico (see entry for 1842).

Thirty New Mexicans enter Los Angeles with John Wolfskill expedition.

February 6 -- Caravan of traders from New Mexico is restricted in trading and doing any business south of San Fernando.

September 22 -- Lorenzo Trujillo, José Antonio García, Hipolito Espinosa, Diego Lobato, Antonio Lobato, Santiago Martínez and Manuelita Renaga (who gives birth to a son, Apolinario, at Resting Springs) leave New Mexico, bound for California. These eight individuals are the first settlers of the San Bernardino area.

1839

José Antonio Salazar and several New Mexicans and two Canadians travel in party of 75 men to California. José Antonio Salazar's expedition returns to New Mexico on April 14, 1839, with an estimated 2,500 animals. Some of Salazar's men desert the expedition and remain in California as settlers. Michael White was either with this party or on the return trip with Tomás Salazar in 1840. White's party went to Taos.

Tomás Salazar is in California with an expedition from New Mexico (See 1840).

May 16 -- Various New Mexicans petition Governor Manuel Armijo in Santa Fe for passports to go to California. Passports were granted. Many New Mexicans migrate to California.

July 11 -- One New Mexican trader presents his passport in Santa Barbara, California—possibly this person was from the group of petitioners for passports in Santa Fe.

December 21 -- 75 New Mexicans arrive in California and settle near Rancho de San José. This group was probably the one that petitioned for passports in Santa Fe.

1840

Manuel Martínez and Sismos petition to stay in California.

Julian Chávez, who had been in California, decides to remain in California as a citizen of Los Angeles. He later works for Abel Stearns as a right-hand man (see 1837).

February 21-- *Californios* report that New Mexicans had stolen horses from California.

April 4 -- *Californios* report that New Mexicans leaving Los Angeles had passed through Puerta del Cajón on their way back to New Mexico.

April 4 -- 75 men depart California for New Mexico.

April 14 -- The Tomás Salazar expedition leaves California and returns to New Mexico with herds of horses and mules (see 1839 and 1843).

May 15 -- *Chaguanosos* steal 1,000 animals from San Luis Obispo. The *Chaguanosos*, including Anglo and French trappers and Utes, were associated with New Mexican traders who stole or enticed other people to steal for them. That month this group stole some 3,000 horses.

1841

Rowland-Workman party, including immigrants, travel to California. Caravans were used for trade and immigration after 1841 (Lawrence 1930:30). Among the travelers is J. Manuel Vaca, who founded Vacaville, California. It is reported that a party of 200 New Mexicans and 60 or more North Americans arrived in Los Angeles in November.

February -- Joseph Walker arrives in California from New Mexico with a party of 14 men, intending to stay two months and purchase horses.

February 10 -- Californio officials report at least two and possibly more expeditions reaching California from New Mexico.

August 11 -- John Rowland given safe conduct to go to California from New Mexico.

September 6 -- Francisco Estevan Vigil and a party of traders and other travelers depart New Mexico and arrive in Los Angeles in November (see 1847).

September 6 -- California detachment tracks New Mexican "thieves" to the Río San Pascual, possibly the Sevier River.

November -- Commander of Santa Barbara Presidio reportedly braces for the arrival of New Mexico traders.

November 30 -- A caravan from New Mexico arrives in California with 134 people on the expedition.

1842

The main colonizing party from Abiquiú New Mexico for Agua Mansa arrives. Many of them settled at Politana, which earlier had been founded by Hipolito Espinosa.

Santiago Martínez leads 19 families to California. This group is associated with Francisco Estevan Quintana, who planned to settle in San Bernardino area. These families eventually settled San Luis Obispo.

José Antonio García returns to California for trade in 1842 (See 1838).

John Rowland returns to New Mexico with 300 "stolen" animals. Rowland is in Santa Fe in July 1842. Official California records indicated that the Rowland party was inspected and had three horses confiscated.

February 10 -- Juan Bandini recovers stolen horses from New Mexican traders.

February 12 -- Francisco Estevan Quintana returns to New Mexico to get his family. He returns with them and settles near San Luis Obispo.

April 16 -- Francisco Estevan Vigil party leaves Los Angeles for New Mexico with 194 New Mexicans and purchases 4,150 animals. After being inspected by Californio officials, they depart Cajon on April 21 with 4,141 animals. Nine were confiscated.

June 3 -- California officials inspect incoming caravan from New Mexico for woolen goods for trade for horses "as has been done on other occasions."

1843

James P. Beckwourth from Missouri leaves New Mexico with a caravan of 40 mules to California by way of Utah sometime in 1843. He arrives in California in January 1844. Beckwourth's exact route is not known. The next year Beckwourth will return from California with 1,800 horses.

January 15 -- John Rowland arrives from New Mexico with a considerable number of New Mexicans. Possibly 10 families from New Mexico arrive in California with this expedition. That same year, Rowland and B. D. Wilson leave California bound for New Mexico; they cross the Grand and Green rivers above their confluence.

March 6 -- 24 people leave California for New Mexico with 252 animals.

November 30 -- A company of men from California is given permission to leave California and trade in New Mexico.

December -- Tomás Salazar and 170 men arrive in Los Angeles from New Mexico with woolen goods. The group is comprised of 165 men and 10 families from New Mexico. They brought serapes and woolen goods to trade and returned to New Mexico in April 1844 (see 1839 and 1840).

1844

Five families arrive in Agua Mansa from New Mexico.

La Placita, near Agua Mansa, is established by New Mexicans led by Lorenzo Trujillo. Original name of the site was La Placita de los Trujillos.

Jim Waters, Indian trader, uses the Old Spanish Trail to go to California and returns with pack mules and abalone shell.

January 2 -- New Mexican caravan returns to New Mexico from California.

January 11 -- *Californios* report that a New Mexican caravan, possibly Beckwourth's, arrives in California.

April 21 -- John C. Frémont reports meeting New Mexicans, particularly Andres Fuentes and a small party, along the Mojave River.

November 10 -- Luís Robidoux is granted a passport to go to California with traders, and the caravan departs from the Luís López settlement.

1845

October 21 --New Mexicans at Agua Mansa prepare to defend against Utes.

1846

Miles Goodyear takes pack train of hides from northern Utah south to Old Spanish Trail and then on to California. This likely occurred in late 1846 or early 1847. Goodyear learned about the trail from fellow mountain men/horse thieves such as Bill Williams and Joseph Walker.

March -- California officials report that 1,000 head of horses have been stolen and taken through Cajon by "*los Yutas*" in the previous three months. Another report says that Utes travel among New Mexicans.

July 3 -- *Californios* report on New Mexicans living in California.

1847

Kit Carson and Lieutenant George D. Brewerton carry messages about the United States-Mexico War using the Old Spanish Trail during this year and the next year.

November -- Porter Rockwell goes south from Salt Lake City to Old Spanish Trail with directions from Miles Goodyear. Jefferson Hunt is a member. This shows direct influence of mountain men in beginning of Mormon Route.

December -- Miles and Andrew Goodyear travel same route to California to trade for horses.

December -- New Mexican caravan of 209-225 men led by Francisco Estevan Vigil arrive in Los Angeles (See 1841 and 1848). Juan Ignacio Martínez, Rowland's brother-in-law, was on the expedition. (John Hussey indicates that the expedition was comprised of 212 travelers, including 60 boys, and departed from New Mexico with 150 mules carrying blankets and other goods.) They return in April 1848.

1848

February -- Hunt and other Mormons return to Utah from California on Old Spanish Trail in an attempt to supply Salt Lake City.

March -- Members of the Mormon battalion are led by Rockwell from California to Utah.

April -- Miles Goodyear leaves California with horses. Note: Goodyear was inspected at Cajon Pass on April 23, 1848. He had 231 animals and four men. Probably meeting illegal traders beyond the Cajon inspection point, Goodyear acquired and drove an estimated 4,000 animals over the Old Spanish Trail to Utah. Eventually, Goodyear drove his horses all the way to Missouri—over Old Santa Fe Trail—but found that the end of the Mexican War had released many horses onto the market, increasing the supply and depressing prices. In addition, the war and increased Indian hostilities held down immigration and demand for stock during 1847 and 1848. In 1849, Goodyear drives the herd of horses to Sutter's Mill in California for trade to Gold Rush forty-niners. The Goodyear situation demonstrates the decline of the Old Spanish Trail trade.

April -- The Frenchman named Le Tard leaves Cajon with 231 horses, going westward to New Mexico.

April -- Francisco Estevan Vigil leaves California for New Mexico with 4,628 animals (see 1847).

July 4 -- Choteau leaves California and arrives in Santa Fe on August 15. Pratt uses Choteau Route in reverse to get to California.

1849

John G. Nichols leaves U.S. over a "northern route," gets to Salt Lake City, travels down Mormon Road, picks up the "Santa Fe Road" to the Mojave, and gets to San Bernardino-Agua Mansa area and on to Los Angeles.

1850

September -- The guide, Tomás Chacón, and 50 men leave Abiquiú for California.

1852

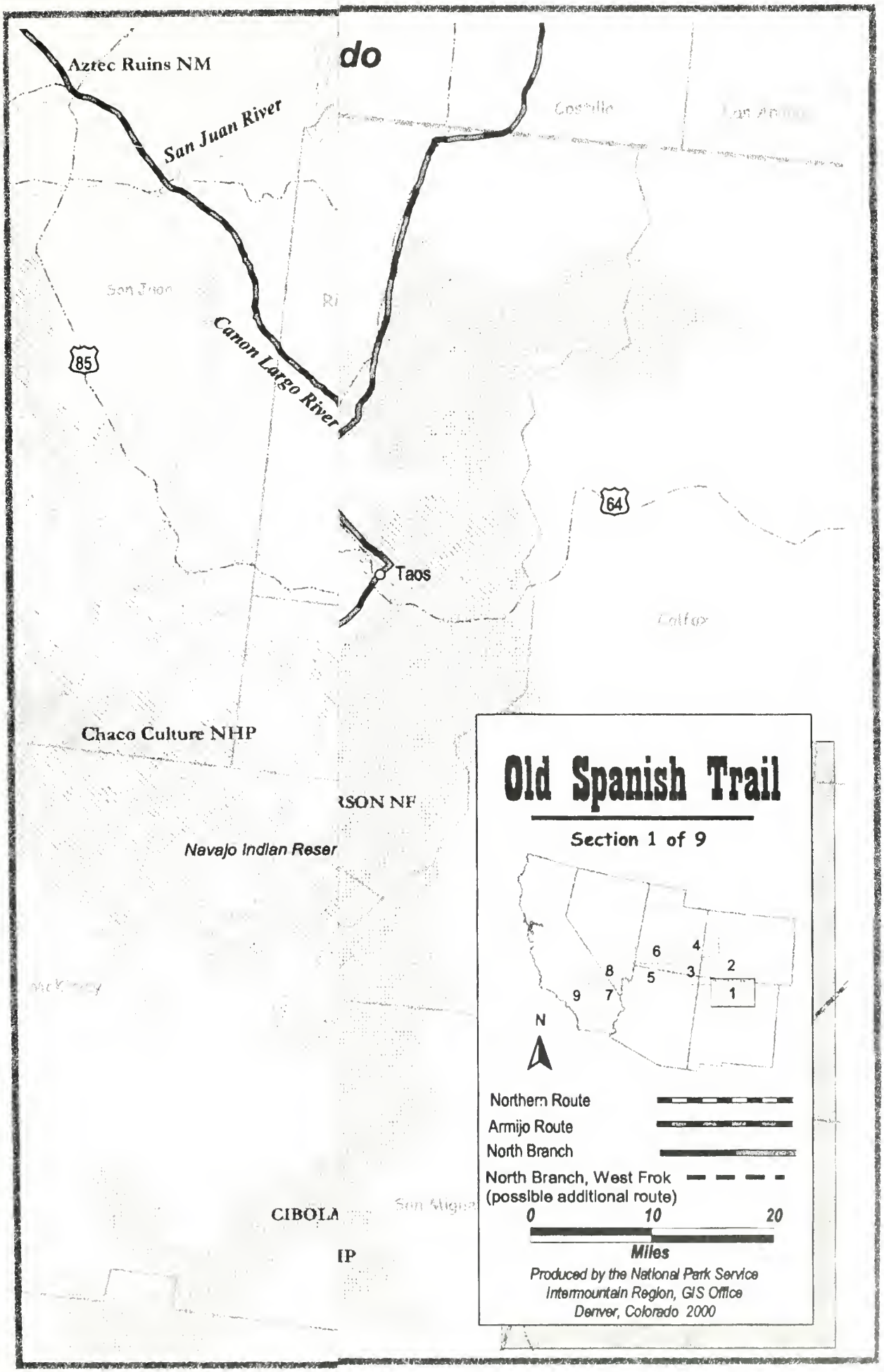
California Census of 1852 records population of 224,435.

1853

The E. F. Beale party follows the Santa Fe Trail and Old Spanish Trail from Missouri to California and go back on the same route.

APPENDIX C: MAPS

1: Northern Route, Armijo Route, and North Branch in New Mexico
2: Northern Route, Armijo Route, and North Branch in Colorado
3: Northern Route and Armijo Route in the Four Corners region
4: Northern Route and North Branch in Utah
5: Armijo Route and Northern Route in Arizona and Utah
6: Northern Route and Fishlake Cutoff in Utah
7: Armijo Route, Northern Route, Mojave Road, and Kingston Cutoff in Arizona, Nevada, and California
Map 8: Armijo Route, Northern Route, Mojave Road, and Kingston Cutoff in Nevada and California
Map 9: Northern Route and Armijo Route in California


Aztec Ruins NM
San Juan River
Canon Largo River
85
64
Taos
Chaco Culture NHP
Navajo Indian Reser
CIBOLA
Old Spanish Trail
Section 1 of 9
N
Northern Route
Armijo Route
North Branch
North Branch, West Frok
(possible additional route)
0
10
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Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Aztec Ruins NM

San Juan River

Navajo Reservoir

Archuleta

Conejos

Colorado

Costilla

Las Animas

Chama

New Mexico

San Juan

Rio Arriba

Canon Largo River

Reservation

Indian

Apache

Jicarilla

RIO GRANDE NF

Taos

Rio Grande

Abiquiu

Taos

Colfax

Chaco Culture NHP

SANTA FE NF

CARSON NF

San Juan Pueblo

Navajo Indian Reservation

Los Alamos

Espanola

Nambe

Pojoaque

McKinley

Sandoval

Bandelier NM

Pecos River

Santa Fe

San Miguel

CIBOLA NF

Santa Fe

Pecos NHP

Old Spanish Trail

Section 1 of 9

Northern Route

Armijo Route

North Branch

North Brench, West Frok
(possible additional route)

0 10 20

Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Old Spanish Trail

Section 2 of 9

Northern Route

North Branch

Armijo Route

North Branch, West Fork (possible additional route)

0 10 20

Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

GILA NF

Great Sand Dunes NM

Sangre de Cristo Mts.

Durango

Fort Garland

Rio Grande

Southern Ute Indian Reservation

Luis Valley

New M

Old Spanish Trail

Section 2 of 9

Northern Route
North Branch
Armijo Route
North Branch, West Fork (possible additional route)

0 10 20
Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Black Canyon of the Gunnison NP
Montrose
Curecanti NRA
Gunnison
Uncompahgre River
GILA NF
Ouray
San Miguel
Colorado
50
Cochetopa [North] Pass
Saguache
RIO GRANDE NF
550
285
Great Sand Dunes NM
Sangre de Cristo Mts.
SAN JUAN NF
Del Norte
Alamosa
160
Monte Vista
Durango
Rio Grande
Fort Garland
Southern Ute Indian Reservation
Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation
84
Navajo River
New Mexico
Conejos
San Luis Valley
Costilla
Huerfano
Custer
Chaffee
Eminent
Hinsdale
Archuleta
La Plata
Montezuma
Mineral
Dolores

Old Spanish Tr
Section 3 of 9
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Produced by the National Park Ser
Intermountain Region, GIS Offic
Denver, Colorado 2000
SAN JUAN NF
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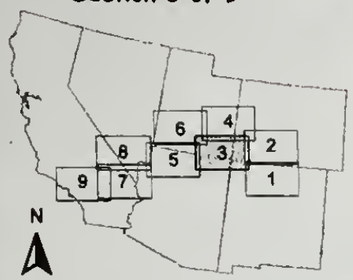
Mancos
Mesa Verde NP
Duran
Plateau
Ute Mountain
dian Reservation
Southern Ute
Indian Reservation
Navajo NM
ew Mexico
Aztec Ruins NM
550
Farmington
160
Canyon Lara

Old Spanish Trail

Section 3 of 9



Northern Route

Armijo Route

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Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Glen Canyon NRA

MANTI-LA SAL NF

Natural Bridges NM

San Juan

San Miguel

Monticello

666

191

Dolores

SAN JUAN NF

Hovenweep NM

Yucca House NM

Mancos

Montezuma

Duran

La Plata

San Juan River

Mesa Verde NP

Utah

Colorado

Ute Mountain
Indian Reservation

Southern Ute
Indian Reservation

Plateau

Navajo NM

Arizona

New Mexico

Aztec Ruins NM

550

Farmington

Navajo Indian Reservation

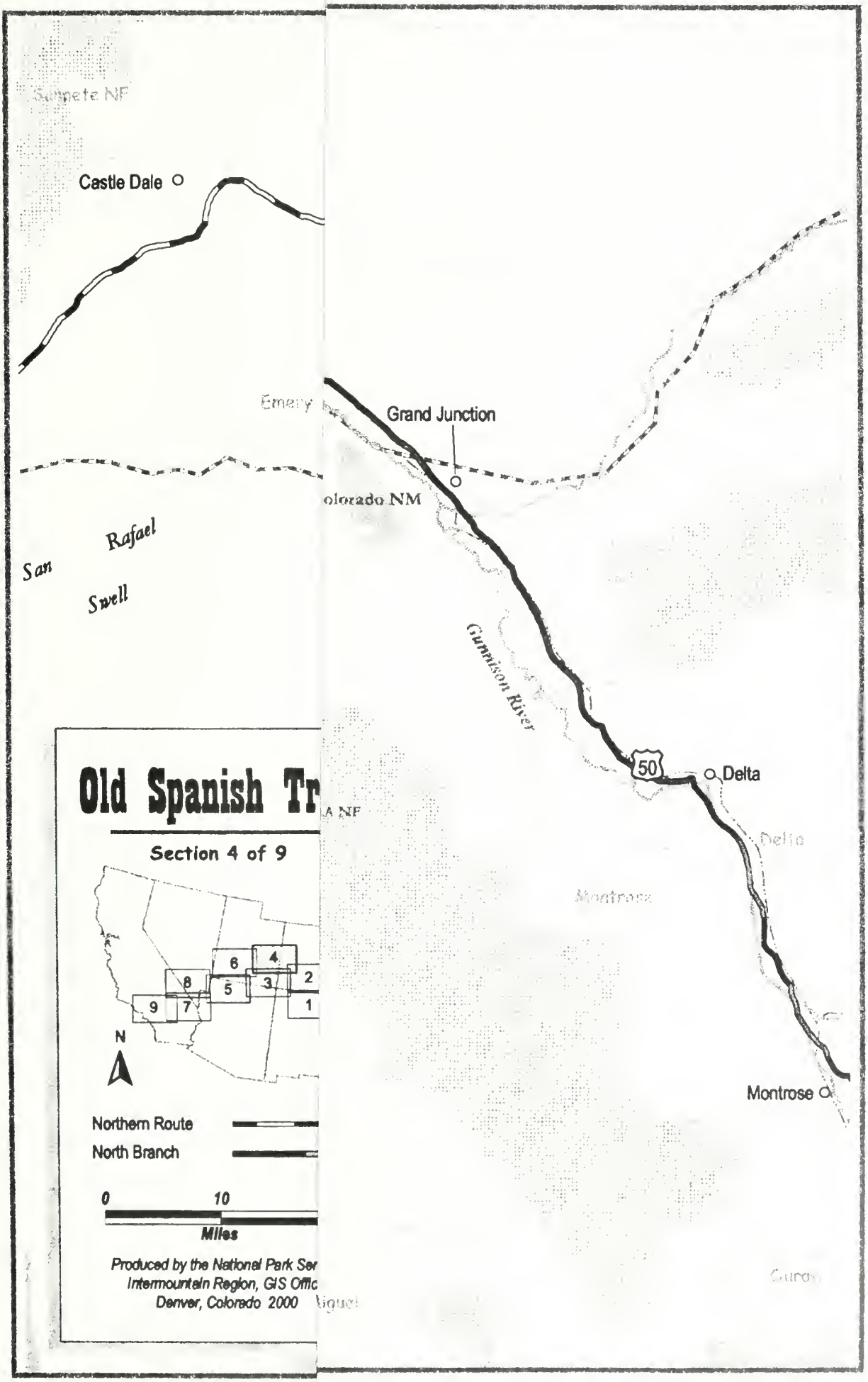
160

Navajo

Apache

666

Canyon Lands


Castle Dale
Grand Junction
Rafael
San
Swell
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Delta
Montrose
Old Spanish Tr
Section 4 of 9
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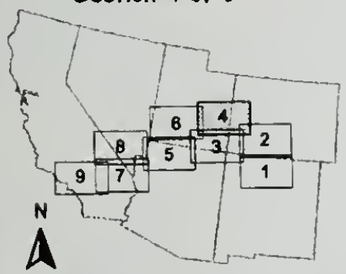
Produced by the National Park Ser
Intermountain Region, GIS Offic
Denver, Colorado 2000

Old Spanish Trail

Section 4 of 9



Northern Route

North Branch

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Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Castle Dale

Emery

Green River

San Rafael Swell

Utah

Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation

Uintah

Green River

Grand

Arches NP

Moab

Canyonlands NP

Wayne

Garfield

San Juan

MANTI-LA SAL NF

Kane Springs

La Sal Junction

Grand Junction

Colorado NM

Mesa

Colorado River

Gunnison River

GILA NF

Delta

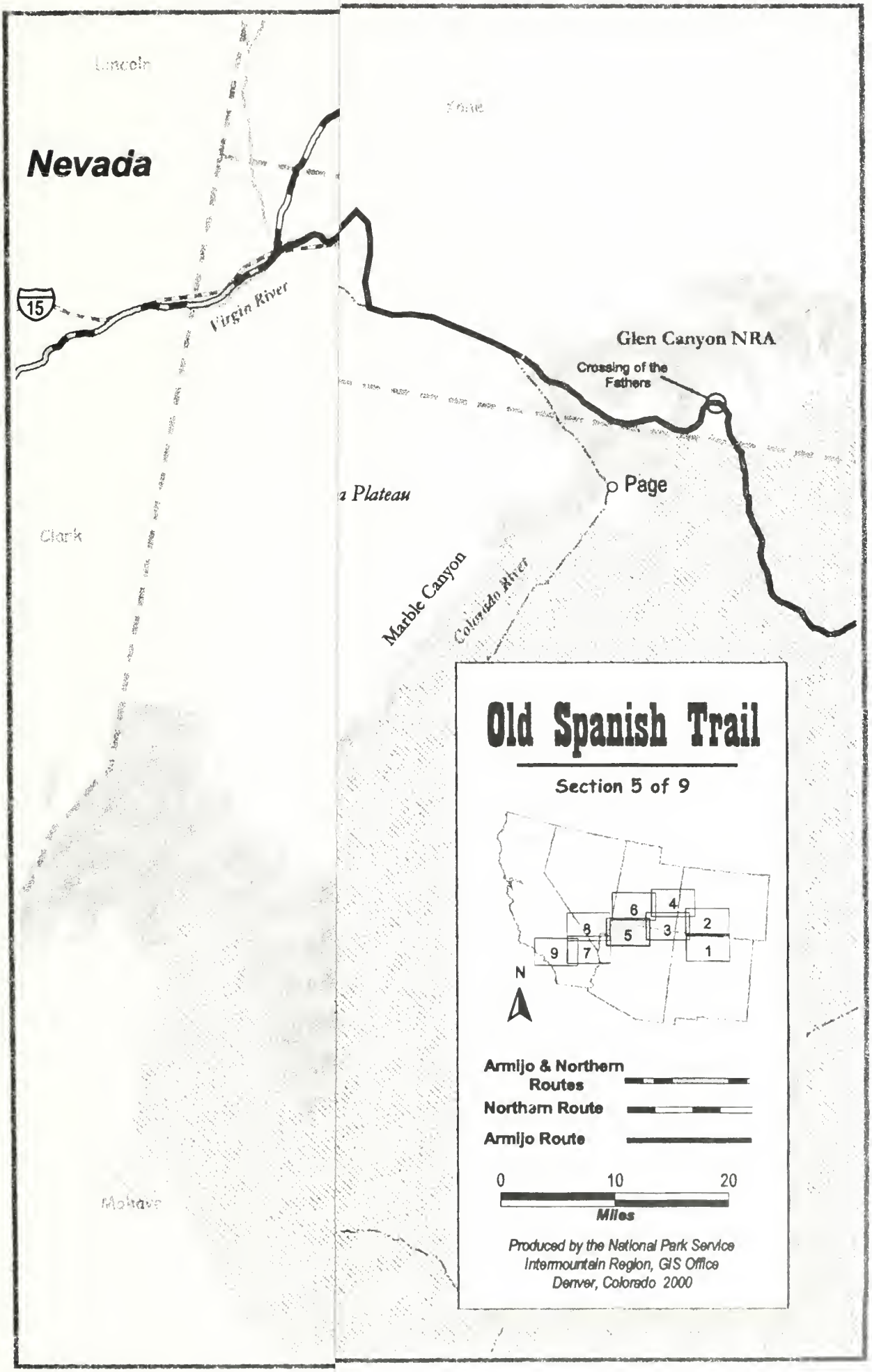
Montrose

Ouray

San Miguel

Colorado

OLSP • 20000 4 OF 9 • DSC • AUG 2001


Lincoln
Nevada
15
Virgin River
Glen Canyon NRA
Crossing of the Fathers
Page
Plateau
Clark
Marble Canyon
Colorado River
Mojave
Old Spanish Trail
Section 5 of 9
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Northern Route
Armijo Route
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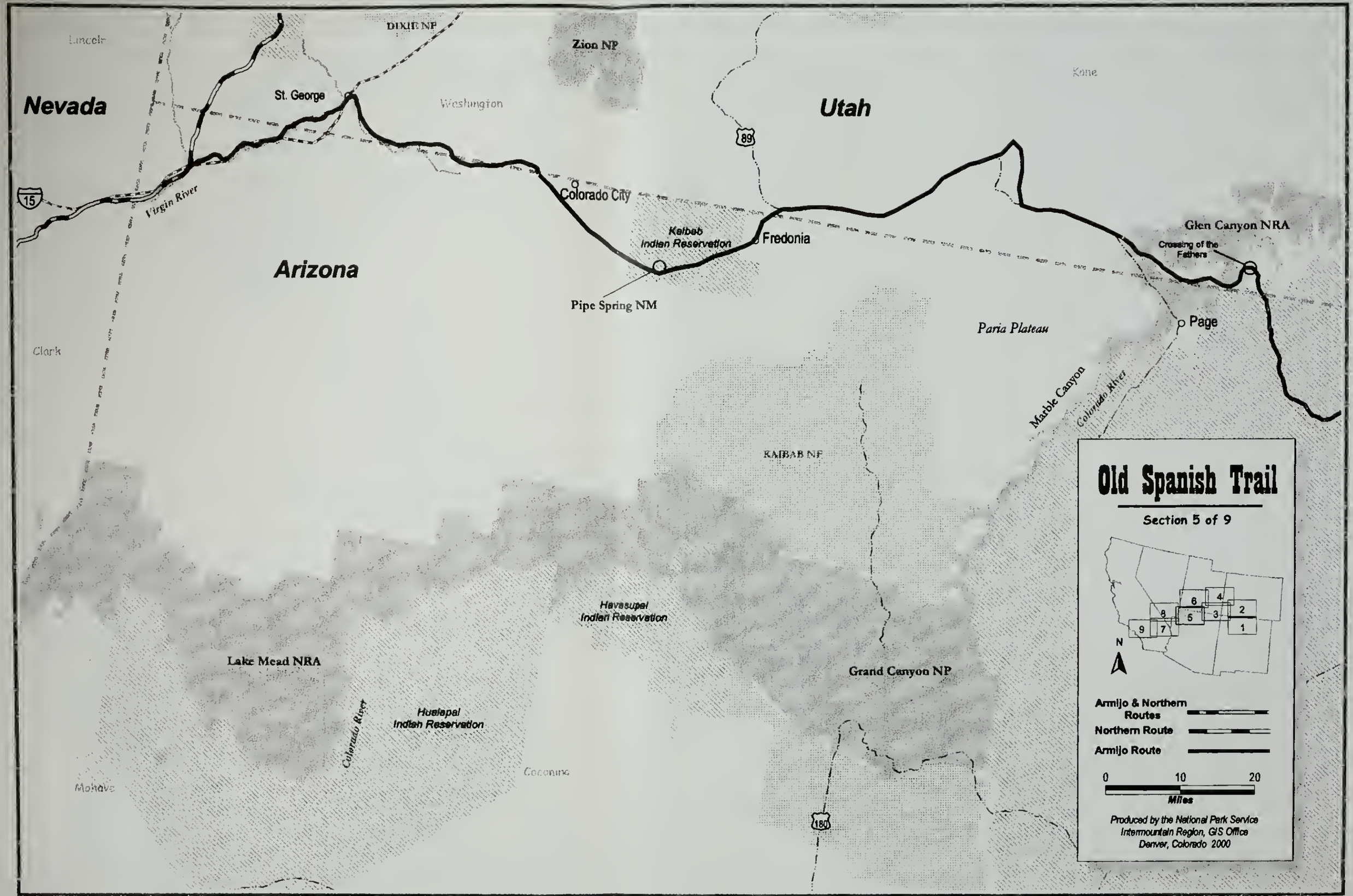
Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000


Nevada
Utah
Arizona
Lincoln
Clark
Mohave
Coconino
Kane
Washington
DIXIE NF
Zion NP
St. George
Virgin River
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89
Colorado City
Kaibab
Indian Reservation
Fredonia
Pipe Spring NM
Glen Canyon NRA
Crossing of the
Fathers
Page
Paria Plateau
Marble Canyon
Colorado River
KAIBAB NF
Grand Canyon NP
Havasupai
Indian Reservation
Lake Mead NRA
Colorado River
Hualapai
Indian Reservation
180
Old Spanish Trail
Section 5 of 9
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Armijo & Northern
Routes
Northern Route
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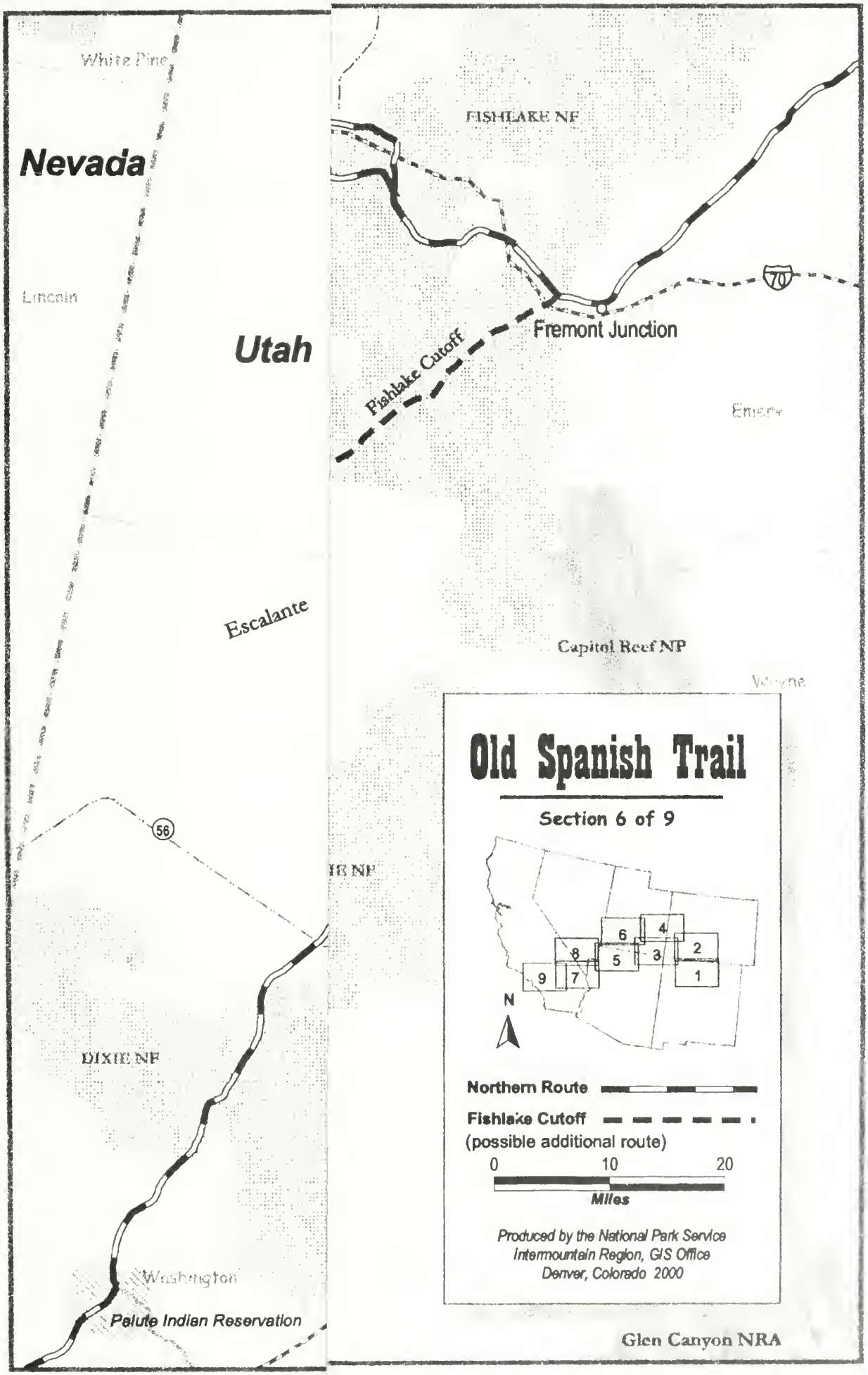
Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000


White Pine
Nevada
Lincoln
Utah
FISHLAKE NF
70
Fremont Junction
Fishlake Cutoff
Emery
Escalante
Capitol Reef NP
Wayne
56
DIXIE NF
Washington
Paiute Indian Reservation
Glen Canyon NRA
Old Spanish Trail
Section 6 of 9
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Fishlake Cutoff
(possible additional route)
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Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

White Pine

Nevada

Millard

Lincoln

Utah

Beaver

Desert

Escalante

Iron

Washington

Zion NP

Kane

Grand Staircase-Escalante NM

Glen Canyon NRA

Garfield

Wayne

Piute

Sevier

Emery

FISHLAKE NF

FISHLAKE NP

DIXIE NF

Cedar Breaks NM

Bryce Canyon NP

Capitol Reef NP

Paiute I.R.

Paiute Indian Reservation

Sevier River

Hurricane Cliffs

Fishlake Cutoff

Sevier

Cedar City

Parowan

Iron Springs

Fremont Junction

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Old Spanish Trail

Section 6 of 9

Northern Route

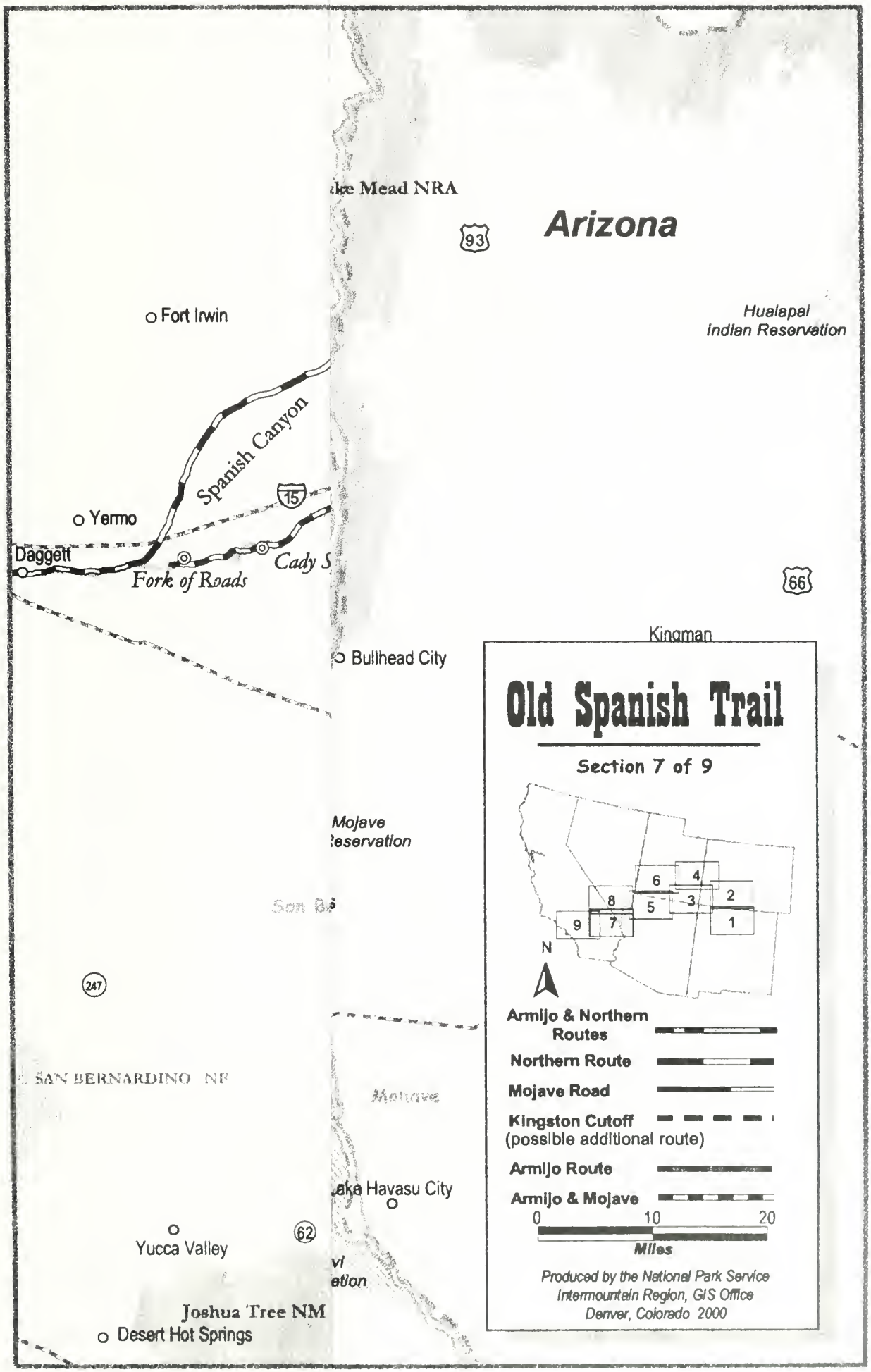
Fishlake Cutoff

(possible additional route)

0 10 20

Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000


ake Mead NRA
Arizona
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Fort Irwin
Hualapai
Indian Reservation
Spanish Canyon
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Yermo
Daggett
Fork of Roads
Cady S
66
Kingman
Bullhead City
Old Spanish Trail
Section 7 of 9
Mojave
Reservation
San Bo
247
SAN BERNARDINO NF
Mojave
Lake Havasu City
Yucca Valley
62
Joshua Tree NM
Desert Hot Springs
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Armijo & Northern Routes
Northern Route
Mojave Road
Kingston Cutoff
(possible additional route)
Armijo Route
Armijo & Mojave
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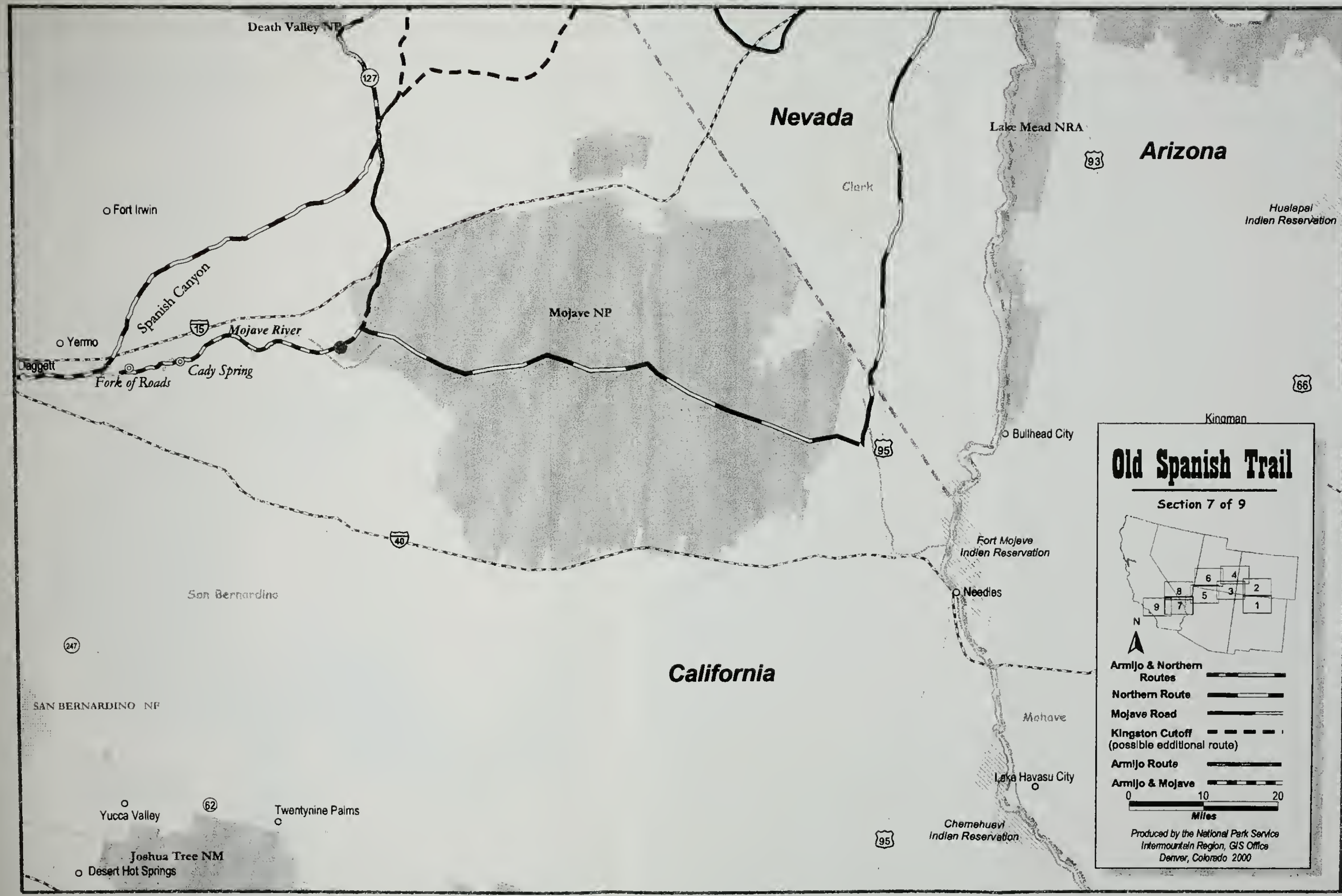
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000


Death Valley NP
127
Nevada
Lake Mead NRA
93
Arizona
Clark
Fort Irwin
Hualapai
Indian Reservation
Spanish Canyon
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Mojave River
Mojave NP
Yermo
Daggett
Cady Spring
Fork of Roads
66
Kingman
Bullhead City
95
Old Spanish Trail
Section 7 of 9
40
Fort Mojave
Indian Reservation
Needles
San Bernardino
247
California
SAN BERNARDINO NF
Mohave
Lake Havasu City
Yucca Valley
62
Twentynine Palms
Joshua Tree NM
Desert Hot Springs
Chemehuevi
Indian Reservation
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Armijo & Northern Routes
Northern Route
Mojave Road
Kingston Cutoff
(possible additional route)
Armijo Route
Armijo & Mojave
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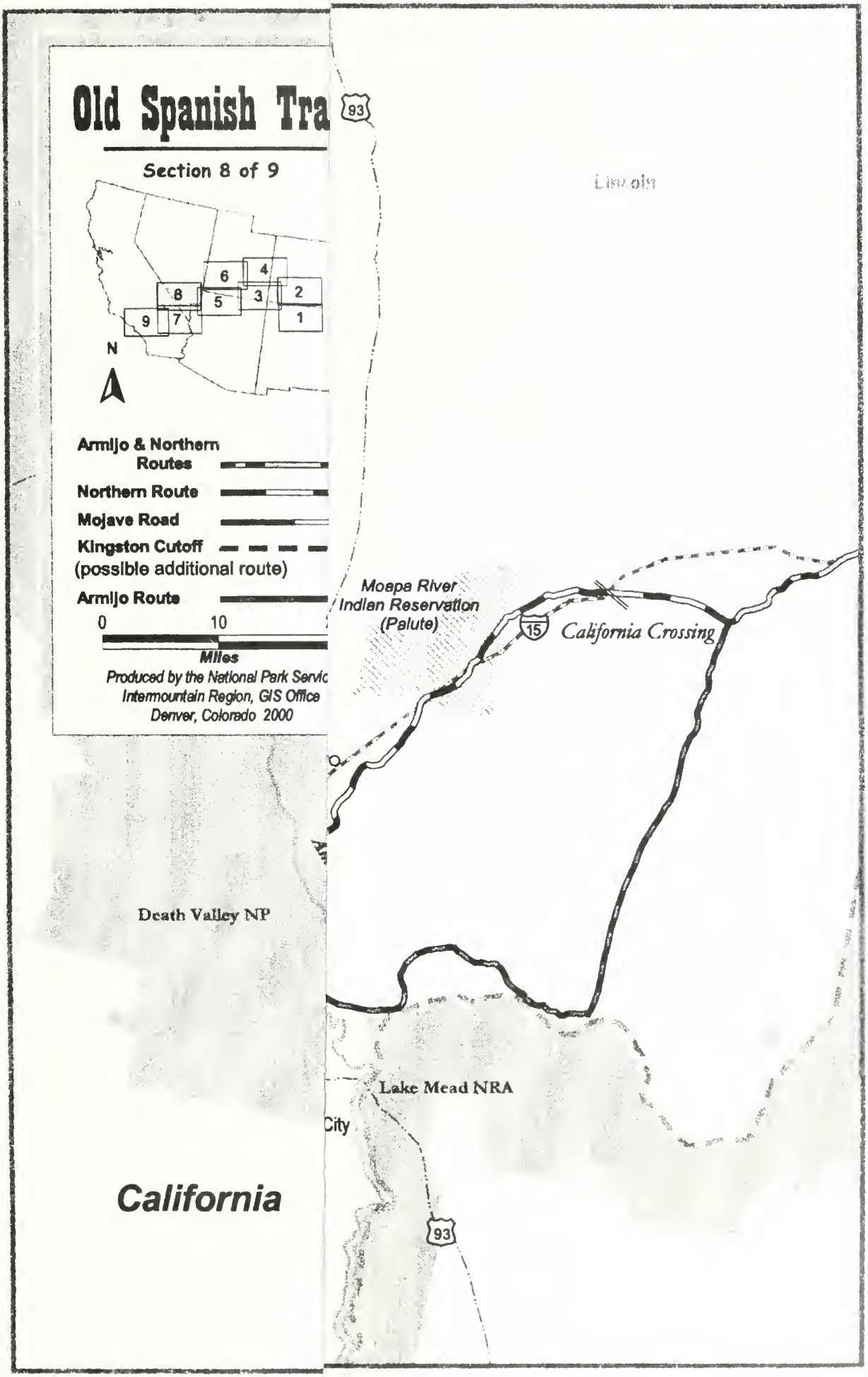
Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000


Old Spanish Tra
Section 8 of 9
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Armijo & Northern Routes
Northern Route
Mojave Road
Kingston Cutoff
(possible additional route)
Armijo Route
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Produced by the National Park Servic
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000
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Lincoln
Moapa River Indian Reservation (Paiute)
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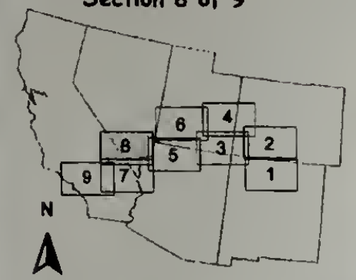
California Crossing
Death Valley NP
Lake Mead NRA
City
93
California

Old Spanish Trail

Section 8 of 9



Armijo & Northern Routes

Northern Route

Mojave Road

Kingston Cutoff

(possible additional route)

Armijo Route

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Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

Nevada

California

Nye

Clark

Lincoln

Inyo

Death Valley Timba-She Shoshone Indian Reservation

Las Vegas Colony Indian Reservation (Paiute)

Moapa River Indian Reservation (Paiute)

TOIYABE NF

Death Valley NP

Amargosa River

Mountain Springs

Blue Diamond (Cottonwood Spring)

Las Vegas

Resting Springs

Stump Spring

Emigrant Pass

Tecopa

Tecopa Pass

Paradise

Goodsprings

Boulder City

Lake Mead NRA

Silurian Lake

Mojave NP

Moapa

California Crossing

190

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93

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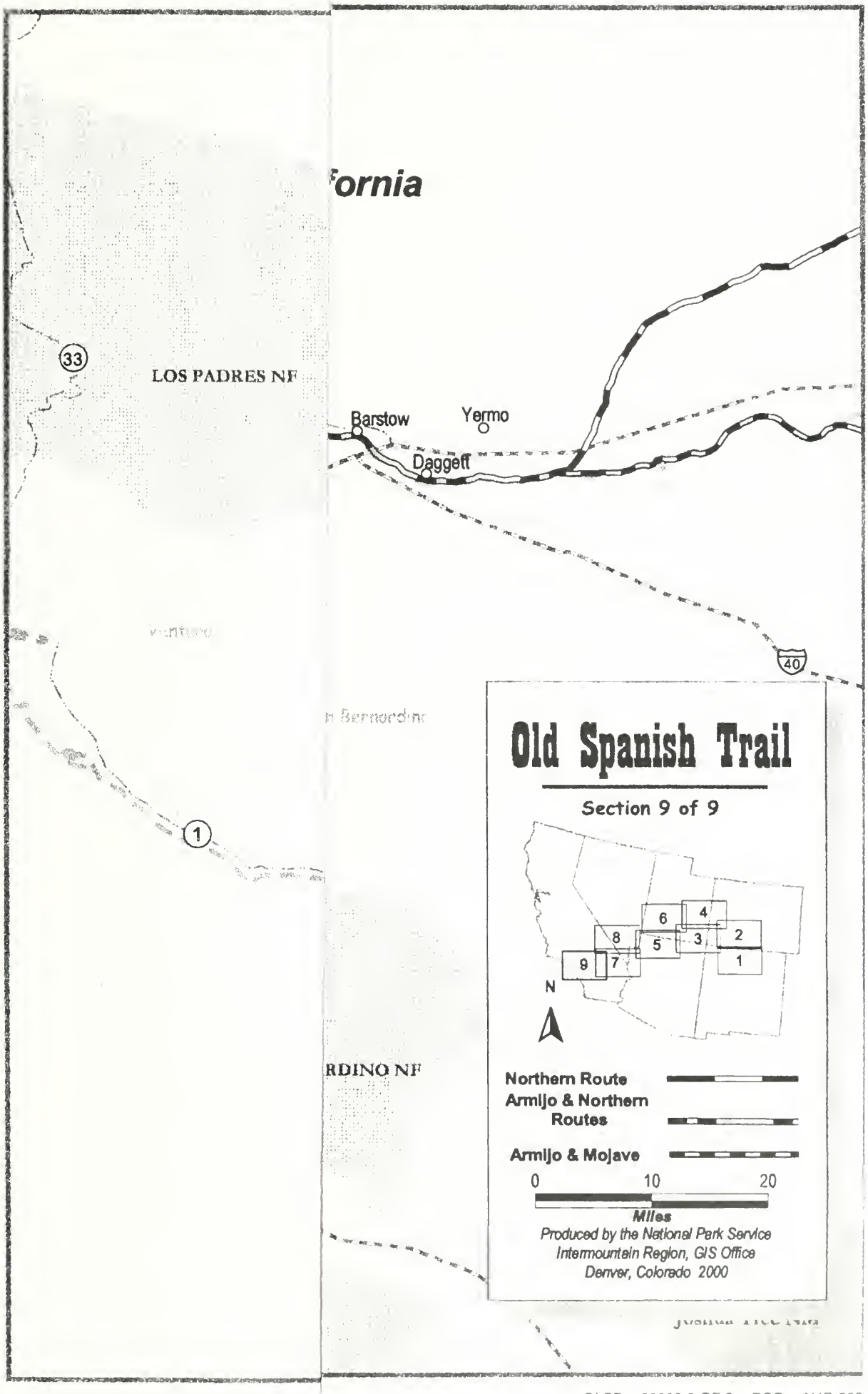
ornia
33
LOS PADRES NF
Barstow
Yermo
Daggett
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RDINO NF
Old Spanish Trail
Section 9 of 9
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Northern Route
Armijo & Northern Routes
Armijo & Mojave
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Miles
Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

California

Kern

Los Angeles

Ventura

San Bernardino

Riverside

Orange

LOS PADRES NF

ANGELES NF

SAN BERNARDINO NF

CLEVELAND NF

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58

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33

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395

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40

Barstow

Yermo

Daggett

Mojave River

Helendale

Lane's Crossing

Victorville

Los Angeles

Mission San Gebriel

Cajon Pass

San Bernardino

Long Beach

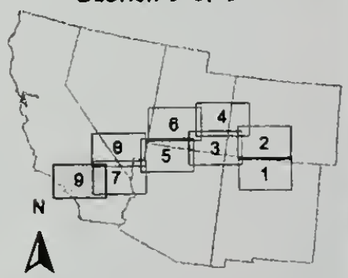
Santa Ana River

Riverside

Santa Ana

Old Spanish Trail

Section 9 of 9



Northern Route

Armijo & Northern Routes

Armijo & Mojave

0 10 20

Miles

Produced by the National Park Service
Intermountain Region, GIS Office
Denver, Colorado 2000

APPENDIX D: SELECTED WILDLIFE SPECIES

New Mexico			
Mammals	*Birds*	*Reptiles*	*Amphibians & Fish*
Antelope	Bald eagle	Snake	Minnow
Badger	Band-tailed pigeon	Lizard	Salamander
Bat	Blue grouse	Tortoise	Sucker
Beaver	Burrowing owl		Toad
Black bear	Cuckoo		
Bobcat	Curlew		
Cottontail rabbit	Falcon		
Coyote	Field sparrow		
Deer mouse	Flycatcher		
Elk	Golden eagle		
Ferret	Goldfinch		
Fox	Goshawk		
Ground squirrel	Hawk		
Jackrabbit	Horned lark		
Jumping mouse	Jay		
Mink	Killdeer		
Mule deer	Lark bunting		
Muskrat	Magpie		
Otter	Marsh hawk		
Pika	Mourning dove		
Pocket gopher	Nuthatch		
Prairie dog	Owl		
Raccoon	Pheasant		
Striped skunk	Plover		
Weasel	Raven		
	Red-tailed hawk		
	Red-winged blackbird		
	Roadrunner		
	Scaled (blue) quail		
	Shrike		
	Sparrow		
	Tern		
	Thrush		
	Turkey		
	Vulture		
	Waterfowl (ducks, geese, ibis, cranes)		
	Woodpecker		

Colorado			
Mammals	*Birds*	*Reptiles*	*Amphibians & Fish*
Antelope	Bald eagle		Crappie
Bear	Bats		Perch
Beaver	Bobwhite quail		Trout
Bobcat	Hawks		Toad
Cottontail rabbit	Flycatcher		
Coyote	Grouse		
Deer	Mourning dove		
Elk	Owl		
Ferret	Plover		
Fox	Ring-necked pheasant		
Jackrabbit	Scaled (blue) quail		
Lynx	Turkey		
Marten	Waterfowl (ducks, geese)		
Marmot			
Muskrat			
Prairie dog			
Raccoon			
Skunk			

Arizona			
Mammals	*Birds*	*Reptiles*	*Amphibians & Fish*
Antelope	Bald Eagle	Tortoise	Frog
Badger	Condor		Minnow
Bear	Dove		Sucker
Beaver	Flycatcher		Trout
Bobcat	Grouse		
Deer	Owl		
Fox	Plover		
Elk	Quail		
Mountain lion	Rail		
Mountain sheep	Turkey		
Raccoon			
Skunk			
Squirrel			
Weasel			

Utah			
Mammals	*Birds*	*Reptiles*	*Amphibians & Fish*
Antelope	Bald Eagle	Lizard	Bass
Badger	Condor	Snake	Catfish
Bear	Falcon	Toad	Grayling
Bobcat	Flycatcher	Tortoise	Perch
Coyote	Grouse		Sucker
Deer	Pheasant		Trout
Ferret	Owl		
Fox	Quail		
Lynx	Waterfowl (ducks, geese)		
Marten			
Mountain lion			
Muskrat			
Porcupine			
Prairie dog			
Rabbit			
Raccoon			
Ringtail			
Skunk			
Weasel			

Nevada			
Mammals	Birds	Reptiles	Amphibians & Fish
Antelope	Bald Eagle	Lizard	Frog
Badger	Bittern	Snake	Sucker
Bat	Flycatcher	Tortoise	Toad
Chipmunk	Goshawk	Chuckwalla	Trout
Bighorn sheep	Hawk	Gila monster	
Deer	Owl		
Gopher	Partridge		
Fox	Pheasant		
Kangaroo mouse	Plover		
Mink	Quail		
Marmot	Rail		
Muskrat	Sage hen		
Porcupine	Tern		
Rabbit	Waterfowl (ducks, geese, ibis)		
Raccoon			
Vole			

California			
Mammals	*Birds*	*Reptiles*	*Amphibians & Fish*
Bear	Bald eagle	Lizard	Frog
Beaver	Condor	Snake	Sucker
Coyote	Flycatcher	Tortoise	Toad
Deer	Grouse		Trout
Fox	Mourning dove		
Mink	Pelican		
Mountain sheep	Plover		
Muskrat	Quail		
Rabbit	Rail		
Vole	Tern		
Wildcat	Towhee		
Wolverine	Turkey		
	Vireo		
	Waterfowl (ducks, geese)		

APPENDIX E: EXISTING PUBLIC USE AREAS

There are many existing public use sites along the Old Spanish Trail, including state and national parks, historic sites, monuments, recreation areas, highway historical markers, historic districts, campgrounds, picnic areas, national forests, scenic roads, and museums (see below). A number of these public use sites (such as state and national parks, historical markers, and museums) have some thematic relationship either directly or indirectly with the Old Spanish Trail. Others (such as national parks and picnic areas) do not relate directly to the history of the trail, but could offer opportunities for the public to learn about, see, experience, and appreciate the trail. Not all public use sites would qualify as officially certified or federal components of a National Historic Trail.

The following public use sites are in or near the corridors of the branches of the Old Spanish Trail.

National Park Service Areas, National Forests, Bureau of Land Management Areas

See Appendix G for a listing of National Park Service areas, national forests and Bureau of Land Management resource areas.

American Indian Lands

Pueblos and other American Indian lands, except for tribal parks and designated public use areas, are generally closed to the public except during special events. See appendix G for a listing of tribes found on or near the trail. Some tribal parks are found in the following listing.

Other Parks, Monuments, and Sites

Angel Peak National Recreation Area
Continental Divide National Scenic Trail
El Rancho de las Golondrinas Living History Museum
El Vado State Park
Fort Burgwin Research Center Museum
Fort Marcy Park
Hyde Memorial State Park
Jemez State Monument
Kit Carson Memorial State Park
Kit Carson Historic Museums
Museum of Indian Arts and Culture
Navajo Lake State Park
Oñate Monument and Visitor Center
Palace of the Governors
Puyé Cliff Dwellings
Rancho de Taos
Río Chama Wild and Scenic River
Río Grande Gorge National Recreation Area
Río Grande Gorge State Park
Santa Cruz Lake National Recreation Area
Santa Fe River State Park
Santuario de Chimayo Church

Alamosa National Wildlife Refuge
Colorado River State Park, Clifton, CO (southwest of Grand Junction)
Continental Divide National Scenic Trail
Crawford State Recreation Area
Crow Canyon Archeological Center
Cumbres and Toltec Railroad
Curecanti National Recreation Area
Fort Garland Museum and Visitor Center
Grand Mesa Scenic Byway
Gunnison River Bluffs Trail ("Spanish Trail")
Los Caminos Antiguos
Lowry Indian Ruins
Monte Vista National Wildlife Refuge
Plaza de San Luis de la Culebra Historic District
Ridgeway State Recreation Area
Saguache County Museum
San Juan Skyway Scenic Byway
San Luis Museum and Cultural Center
Sweitzer Lake State Recreation Area
Trail of the Ancients Historic Byway
Ute Indian Park
West Elk Loop Scenic Byway
Zapata Falls

Arizona Strip Visitor Center
Four Corners Monument
Inscription House Ruin
Monument Valley Navajo Tribal Park
Monument Valley Scenic Byway

Beaver Canyon Scenic Byway (U-153 from Beaver to Elk Meadows)
Big Cottonwood Canyon Scenic Byway
Brian Head-Panguitch Lakes Scenic Byway (U-143 from Parowan to Panguitch)
Cedar Breaks Scenic Byway (U-148)
Cleveland Lloyd Dinosaur Quarry
Colorado River Scenic Byway
Dead Horse Point State Park
Desert Lake Bird Refuge
Eccles Canyon Scenic Byway (U-264)
Fishlake Scenic Byway (U-25 to Fishlake and Johnson Reservoir)
Goblin Valley State Park
Green River State Park

Gunlock State Park
Highway 12 Scenic Byway
Huntington Lake State Park
J. Hamblin Home State Park
Kolob Fingers Road Scenic Byway
Little Cottonwood Canyon Scenic Byway
Loa to Hanksville Scenic Byway
Markagunt Scenic Byway (U-14 from Cedar City to Junction with US-89)
Millsite State Park
Mountain Meadows Massacre Site
Nebo Loop Scenic Byway
Newspaper Rock State Historic Monument
Otter Creek State Park
Parowan Gap Petroglyphs
Piute Lake State Park
Potash Scenic Byway
Provo Canyon Scenic Byway
San Rafael Swell
Snow Canyon State Park
U-211 to Squaw Flats Scenic Byway
US-89 from Kanab to Junction of U-12/US-89 Scenic Byway
Utah Lake State Park
Young Home State Park
Zion Park Scenic Byway (U-9 from I-15 to Mt. Carmel Junction)

Gypsum Cave
Las Vegas Mormon Fort
Las Vegas Spring
Red Rock Canyon State Park
Spring Mountain Ranch State Park
Sunrise Mountain Natural Area
Valley of Fire State Park

Afton Canyon Natural Area (includes the Mojave)
National Old Trails Highway
Providence Mountain State Recreation Area
Shoshone Museum
Old Spanish Trail Highway

APPENDIX F: AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED

FEDERAL AGENCIES

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Denver, CO

USDA Forest Service

Regional Offices
Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, CO

Forest Headquarters
Angeles National Forest, CA
Carson National Forest, NM
Dixie National Forest, UTFishlake National Forest, UT
Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, Gunnison National Forests, CO
Kaibab National Forest, AZ
Manti-LaSal National Forest, UT
Pike and San Isabel National Forests, CO
Rio Grande National Forest, CO
San Bernardino National Forest, CA
San Isabel National Forest, CO
San Juan National Forest, CO
Santa Fe National Forest, NM
Toiyabe National Forest, NV

District Offices
Monte Vista, CO
Durango, CO

Ranger District
Cajon Ranger District, San Bernardino National Forest, Lytle Creek, CA

Other
Spring Mountain National Recreation Area, Las Vegas, NV

U.S. Bureau of Land Management

State Offices
Arizona State Office, Phoenix, AZ
California State Office, Sacramento, CA
Colorado State Office, Denver, CO
New Mexico State Office, Santa Fe, NM
Utah State Office, Salt Lake City, UT

District Offices
California Desert District Office, Riverside, CA
Cedar City District Office, Cedar City, UT

Field Offices
Albuquerque Field Office, NM
Arizona Strip Field Office, St. George, UT
Barstow Field Office, CA
Farmington Field Office, NM
Fillmore Field Office, UT
Grand Junction Field Office, CO
Gunnison Field Office, CO
Kanab Field Office, UT
Kingman Field Office, AZ
La Jara Field Office, CO
Las Vegas Field Office, NV
Moab Field Office, UT
Monticello Field Office, UT
Needles Field Office, CA
Price Field Office, UT
Richfield Field Office, UT
Saguache Field Office, CO
San Juan Field Office, Durango, CO
St. George Field Office, UT
Taos Field Office, NM
Uncompahgre Field Office, Montrose, CO
White River Field Office, Meeker, CO

Other BLM Offices
Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, CO
Cuba Field Station, NM
Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, Kanab, UT
Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument Interagency Office,
Escalante, UT

U.S. National Park Service

Regional Offices
Intermountain Regional Office, Denver, CO, and Santa Fe, NM
Pacific West Regional Office, San Francisco, CA

National Park Service Units
Arches National Park, UT
Aztec Ruins National Monument, NM
Bandelier National Monument, NM
Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Park, CO
Canyonlands National Park, UT
Capitol Reef National Park, UT
Cedar Breaks National Monument, UT
Colorado National Monument, CO
Curecanti National Recreation Area, CO
Death Valley National Park, CA
Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, AZ, UT
Grand Canyon National Park, AZ

Great Sand Dunes National Monument, CO
Hovenweep National Monument, CO
Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, CA, AZ
Lake Mead National Recreation Area, NV
Long Distance Trails Office, UT
Mesa Verde National Park, CO
Mojave National Preserve, CA
Pipe Spring National Monument, AZ
Rainbow Bridge National Monument, UT
Santa Fe National Historic Trail, NM
Yucca House National Monument, CO
Zion National Park, UT

STATE AGENCIES

Arizona State Historic Preservation Officer, Phoenix, AZ
California State Historic Preservation Officer, Sacramento, CA
Colorado State Historic Preservation Officer, Denver, CO
Nevada State Historic Preservation Officer, Carson City, NV
New Mexico State Historic Preservation Officer, Santa Fe, NM
Utah State Historic Preservation Officer, Salt Lake City, UT
Trails Coordinators, selected states

AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES

Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
Atsugewi People
Augustine Band of Cahuilla Tribe
Cabazon Band of Mission Indians
Cahuilla Band of Indians
Cedar City Paiute Band
Chemehuevi Indian Tribe
Colorado River Indian Tribes
Death Valley Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band
Fort Mohave Tribal Council
Goshute Tribal Council
Havasupai Tribe
Hopi Tribe
Hualapai Tribe
Indian Peaks Paiute Band
Jemez Pueblo
Jicarilla Apache
Kaibab-Paiute Tribe
Kanosh Paiute Band
Koosharem Paiute Band
Las Vegas Indian Center
Las Vegas Paiute Tribe
Lone Pine Paiute Shoshone
Moapa
Morongo Band of Mission Indians
Nambé Pueblo
Native American Heritage Commission
Navajo Nation
Paiute Indian Tribe
Paiute-Shoshone of the Lone Pine Community
Pechanga Band of Luiseño Indians
Picurís Pueblo
Ramona Reservation, Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians
San Ildefonso Pueblo
San Juan Pueblo
San Manual Band of Mission Indians
Santa Clara Pueblo
Santa Rosa Band of Mission Indians
Shivwits Paiute Band
Sierra Native American Council
Skull Valley Reservation
Soboba Band of Mission Indians
Southern Ute Tribe
Taos Pueblo
Tesuque Pueblo
Torres Martinez Band of Mission Indians
Twenty-nine Palms Band of Mission Indians
Uintah Ouray Tribe
Ute Mountain Indian Tribe

OTHER

Old Spanish Trail Association

APPENDIX G: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE STUDY TEAM/CONSULTANTS

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
Larry Beal (former Job Captain)
John Paige
Diane Rhodes
Richard Williams
Micheal LeBourne (former Project Manager)

LONG-DISTANCE TRAILS GROUP OFFICE – SANTA FE
David Gaines
John Conoboy
Aaron Mahr Yánez

INTERMOUNTAIN REGIONAL OFFICE
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Jeremy Kuenzi
Kerri Mich
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Bob Spude
Lysa Wegman-French
Bart Barbour

SPANISH COLONIAL RESEARCH CENTER
Joseph P. Sánchez
Bruce A. Erickson

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David J. Weber, Southern Methodist University

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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